भारत में सामाजिक परिवर्तन

कक्षा 12 के लिए समाजशास्त्र की पाठ्यपुस्तक

(चतुर्थ सेमेस्टर)

महेंद्र नारायण कर्ण



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आमुख

प्रस्तुत पाठ्यपुस्तक *भारत में सामाजिक परिवर्तन* बारहवीं कक्षा हेतु तैयार की गई है। पाठ्यपुस्तक को चौथे सेमेस्टर के लिए, समाजशास्त्र के नए पाठ्यक्रम और *विद्यालयी शिक्षा के लिए राष्ट्रीय पाठ्यचर्या की रूपरेखा-2000* के आधार पर तैयार किया गया है। यद्यपि माध्यमिक स्तर पर सामान्य शिक्षण के रूप में समाजशास्त्र के महत्त्वपूर्ण घटकों को सामाजिक विज्ञान के पाठ्यक्रम में शामिल किया गया है, तथापि एक स्वतंत्र ऐच्छिक विषय के रूप में इसका अध्ययन ग्यारहवीं कक्षा में पहली बार प्रारंभ होता है।

इस स्तर पर दो वर्षों का पाठ्यक्रम चार सेमेस्टरों में विभाजित है। प्रत्येक सेमेस्टर के लिए पृथक पाठ्यपुस्तक तैयार की गई है। इस प्रकार दो पाठ्यपुस्तकें ग्यारहवीं कक्षा के लिए तथा दो बारहवीं कक्षा के लिए प्रस्तावित हैं। जिन विद्यालयों में सेमेस्टर प्रणाली लागू नहीं है वहां प्रथम दो सेमेस्टर की पाठ्यपुस्तकें ग्यारहवीं कक्षा एवं अंतिम दो सेमेस्टर की पाठ्यपुस्तकें बारहवीं कक्षा में पढ़ाई जाएगीं। प्रस्तुत पाठ्यपुस्तक *भारत में सामाजिक परिवर्तन* इन चार पाठ्यपुस्तकों की शृंखला में चौथी और अंतिम पुस्तक है। विद्यार्थियों के आयु-समूह तथा समाजशास्त्र में हाल ही में हुए विकास को ध्यान में रखते हुए पुस्तक में दी गई विषय-वस्तु को बहुत ही सरल एवं व्यापक रूप में प्रस्तुत किया गया है।

समाजशास्त्र परिचय एवं समाज का बोध – इन दोनों पाठ्यपुस्तकों में ग्यारहवीं कक्षा का पाठ्यक्रम समाहित किया गया है। इन पुस्तकों में समाजशास्त्र एक विषय के रूप में, समाजशास्त्र की मौलिक अवधारणाएं, शोध पद्धतियां, समाज की संरचना एवं समाजशास्त्र के मुख्य विचारकों के बारे में अध्ययन एवं विश्लेषण किया गया है। *भारतीय समाज की संरचना* नामक पाठ्यपुस्तक तीसरे सेमेस्टर के लिए निर्धारित की गई है। इसमें हमने इन बिंदुओं पर प्रकाश डाला है - एकता में अनेकता : भारतीय समाज की एक विशेषता के रूप में, जाति की सामाजिक, आर्थिक एवं सांस्कृतिक भिन्नताएं, वर्ग एवं जनजातियां, विभिन्न भारतीय संस्थाओं की जानकारी, वंचित समूहों एवं भारतीय समाज के अध्ययन के विभिन्न उपागम इत्यादि।

प्रस्तुत पाठ्यपुस्तक *भारत में सामाजिक परिवर्तन* मुख्यत: भारत में विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में हो रहे सामाजिक परिवर्तनों से संबद्ध है। यह पाठ्यपुस्तक भारत में संरचनात्मक एवं सांस्कृतिक परिवर्तनों पर तो प्रकाश डालती ही है, साथ ही इन विषयों पर भी विचार प्रस्तुत करती है कि आर्थिक विकास, संविधान, कानून, शिक्षा एवं संचार के साधन हमारे देश में किस प्रकार सामाजिक परिवर्तन लाने में सहायक सिद्ध हो रहे हैं। इसके अलावा यह पाठ्यपुस्तक विभिन्न सामाजिक आंदोलनों एवं सामाजिक विचलन के विभिन्न प्रकारों पर भी प्रकाश डालती है। सभी विषयों को विस्तृत रूप से समझाने का प्रयास किया गया है ताकि विद्यार्थी भारत में हाल ही में हुए परिवर्तनों से भली-भांति परिचित हो सकें।

मैं विद्वान लेखक, विभिन्न विश्वविद्यालयों एवं विद्यालयों के विषय विशेषज्ञों, अध्यापिकाओं और अध्यापकों का आभारी हूं जिन्होंने पाठ्यपुस्तक की पांडुलिपि के विकास एवं समीक्षा की प्रक्रिया में और उसे अंतिम रूप देने में अपना अमूल्य योगदान दिया।

पुस्तक में परिवर्तन, संशोधन और परिमार्जन के लिए आपकी टिप्पणियों एवं सुझावों का स्वागत है ताकि इस पुस्तक का आगामी संस्करण हम अधिक सार्थक एवं उपयोगी बना सकें।

जगमोहन सिंह राजपूत
निदेशक
राष्ट्रीय शैक्षिक अनुसंधान और प्रशिक्षण परिषद्

अप्रैल 2003
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पाठ्यपुस्तक समीक्षा कार्यगोष्ठी के सदस्य

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सारिका चंद्रवंशी
प्रवक्ता

मंजु भट्ट (समन्वयक)
प्रवाचक

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भारत का संविधान

भाग 4क

नागरिकों के मूल कर्तव्य

अनुच्छेद 51 क

मूल कर्तव्य – भारत के प्रत्येक नागरिक का यह कर्तव्य होगा कि वह –

(क) संविधान का पालन करे और उसके आदर्शों, संस्थाओं, राष्ट्रध्वज और राष्ट्रगान का आदर करे,

(ख) स्वतंत्रता के लिए हमारे राष्ट्रीय आंदोलन को प्रेरित करने वाले उच्च आदर्शों को हृदय में संजोए रखे और उनका पालन करे;

(ग) भारत की संप्रभुता, एकता और अखंडता की रक्षा करे और उसे अक्षुण्ण बनाए रखे;

(घ) देश की रक्षा करे और आह्वान किए जाने पर राष्ट्र की सेवा करे.

(ङ) भारत के सभी लोगों में समरसता और समान भ्रातृत्व की भावना का निर्माण करे जो धर्म, भाषा और प्रदेश या वर्ग पर आधारित सभी भेदभावों से परे हो, ऐसी प्रथाओं का त्याग करे जो महिलाओं के सम्मान के विरुद्ध हों;

(च) हमारी सामासिक संस्कृति की गौरवशाली परंपरा का महत्त्व समझे और उसका परिरक्षण करे;

(छ) प्राकृतिक पर्यावरण की, जिसके अन्तर्गत वन, झील, नदी और वन्य जीव है, रक्षा करे और उसका संवर्धन करे तथा प्राणिमात्र के प्रति दयाभाव रखे;

(ज) वैज्ञानिक दृष्टिकोण, मानववाद और ज्ञानार्जन तथा सुधार की भावना का विकास करे;

(झ) सार्वजनिक संपत्ति को सुरक्षित रखे और हिंसा से दूर रहे; और

(ञ) व्यक्तिगत और सामूहिक गतिविधियों के सभी क्षेत्रों में उत्कर्ष की ओर बढ़ने का सतत प्रयास करे, जिससे राष्ट्र निरन्तर बढ़ते हुए प्रयत्न और उपलब्धि की नई ऊंचाइयों को छू सके।

विषय-सूची

गांधी जी का जंतर

तुम्हें एक जंतर देता हूँ। जब भी तुम्हें संदेह हो या तुम्हारा अहम् तुम पर हावी होने लगे, तो यह कसौटी आज़माओ :

जो सबसे गरीब और कमज़ोर आदमी तुमने देखा हो, उसकी शक्ल याद करो और अपने दिल से पूछो कि जो कदम उठाने का तुम विचार कर रहे हो, वह उस आदमी के लिए कितना उपयोगी होगा। क्या उससे उसे कुछ लाभ पहुँचेगा? क्या उससे वह अपने ही जीवन और भाग्य पर कुछ काबू रख सकेगा? यानी क्या उससे उन करोड़ों लोगों को स्वराज्य मिल सकेगा, जिनके पेट भूखे हैं और आत्मा अतृप्त है?

तब तुम देखोगे कि तुम्हारा संदेह मिट रहा है और अहम् समाप्त होता जा रहा है।

मो॰ गांधी

अध्याय 1

संरचनात्मक परिवर्तन की प्रक्रियाएं

परिवर्तन मानव जीवन का सत्य है। हम इसे अपने प्रतिदिन के जीवन में भले ही महसूस न करें, पर यह हमारे जीवन को विभिन्न तरीकों से प्रभावित करता रहता है। प्रस्तर अथवा पहाड़ों के निर्माण के लिए भले ही सैकड़ों, हज़ारों वर्ष का समय कम लगे, लेकिन सामाजिक परिवर्तन के लिए एक या दो पीढ़ियां ही पर्याप्त होती हैं। उन परिस्थितियों की कल्पना कीजिए जिसमें आपकी दादी गांव में रहती थीं, जहां पूरा परिवार एक साथ, एक छत के नीचे रहता था। उन्हें परदे में रहना पड़ता था और वह तब तक परदे की चहारदीवारी से मुक्त नहीं हो पाईं जब तक बूढ़ी नहीं हो गईं। अब इन परिस्थितियों को अपनी माँ के संदर्भ में देखिए। क्या आप अपने परिवार की संरचना में परिवर्तन महसूस नहीं करते जहां परिवार के कुछ ही सदस्य एक साथ रहते हैं? आपके चाचा दूसरे घर में अपनी पत्नी एवं बच्चों के साथ रहते हैं। इसी तरह से आपके दादा खेती का काम करते थे जबकि आपके पिता नौकरी के लिए शहर में आ गए। आपने अपने परिवार की जीवन शैली में भी उसी तरह का परिवर्तन महसूस किया होगा। ये बदलाव मुश्किल से एक या दो पीढ़ियों की अवधि में आए। इन परिस्थितियों को ध्यान से देखने पर परिवार की संरचना, प्रकार्य एवं व्यवसाय के तरीकों में परिवर्तन साफ़ तौर पर महसूस किया जा सकता है।

परिवर्तन के इन्हीं पक्षों का अध्ययन हमें यहां करना है। हमारा ध्यान मुख्यतः वर्तमान भारतीय समाज में होने वाले सामाजिक परिवर्तन की प्रकृति एवं उसके विस्तार पर होगा। भारत में होने वाले सामाजिक परिवर्तनों का अध्ययन कई कारणों से महत्त्वपूर्ण है। यह हमें बताता है कि आज का भारतीय समाज कैसे पारंपरिक समाज से आधुनिक रूप से विकसित समाज में परिवर्तित हो रहा है। यह दर्शाता है कि हमारी सामाजिक संस्थाओं में किस प्रकार के परिवर्तन आते जा रहे हैं तथा इन परिवर्तनों के कारण क्या हैं। इससे राष्ट्र के रूप में हमारी उपलब्धियों का भी पता चलता है तथा साथ ही जीवन के विविध क्षेत्रों में आने वाली समस्याओं एवं गतिरोधों की जानकारी भी मिलती है।

सामाजिक परिवर्तन एक प्रक्रिया है। इसमें एक निश्चित समयावधि में घटनाओं की एक शृंखला होती है। इसमें निरंतरता की भावना विद्यमान होती है और यह कार्य-व्यापार के उस क्रम को व्यक्त करती है जो सामाजिक परिवर्तन के कारक होते हैं। इस तरह से, यह प्रक्रिया सामाजिक परिवर्तन के दो प्रमुख पक्षों की ओर संकेत करती है – इसका स्वरूप और इसकी दिशा। परिवर्तन का स्वरूप जहां इसके मूल तत्त्वों को बताता है, वहीं दिशा यह बताती है कि परिवर्तन किस तरफ़ हो रहा है। यहां हम परिवर्तन के दोनों पक्षों पर विचार करने के साथ ही उन पहलुओं पर भी दृष्टि डालेंगे जो इन परिवर्तनों के मूल कारक हैं।

भारत में समाजशास्त्रियों ने सामाजिक परिवर्तन की प्रक्रिया को दो वृहद् श्रेणियों में रख कर विश्लेषित किया है – संरचनात्मक प्रक्रियाएं और सांस्कृतिक प्रक्रियाएं। परिवर्तन की संरचनात्मक प्रक्रियाएं सामाजिक संबंधों के संजाल में होने वाला परिवर्तन है। जाति, नातेदारी, परिवार और व्यावसायिक समूह संरचनात्मकता के कुछ विशिष्ट पक्ष हैं। इनके पूर्व निश्चित संबंधों में होने वाले परिवर्तन संरचनात्मक परिवर्तन हैं। जब एक पारंपरिक कृषि व्यवस्था, जो पारिवारिक श्रम पर आश्रित थी, व्यावसायिक उत्पादन के लिए किराए के मज़दूरों का इस्तेमाल करती है, तब हम इसे संरचनात्मक परिवर्तन कह सकते हैं। संयुक्त परिवार का एकाकी परिवार में परिवर्तन परिवार की संरचना एवं प्रकार्य में परिवर्तन लाता है। भूमिकाओं में परिवर्तन की प्रक्रिया के माध्यम से यह संरचनात्मक परिवर्तन होता है। दूसरे शब्दों में, घटनाओं के विशिष्ट क्रम के कारण सामाजिक संस्थाओं की भूमिका में परिवर्तन होता है जो इन परिवर्तित परिस्थितियों में अधिक प्रभावशाली होता है। वास्तव में भूमिकाओं का संरचनात्मक परिवर्तन प्रकार्यात्मक विशेषीकरण में परिणत हो जाता है। हमारे पिछले उदाहरण के माध्यम से अगर कहें तो संयुक्त परिवार पारंपरिक समाज में शिक्षा, व्यवसाय, सामाजिक सुरक्षा के अलावा बच्चों के जन्म एवं लालन-पालन में अपनी विविध भूमिकाओं का निर्वाह करता है। परंतु इसके एकाकी परिवार के रूप में परिवर्तन के बाद से तमाम कार्य विशेष संगठनों जैसे – स्कूल, आर्थिक संगठन, सरकारी विभागों और दूसरे माध्यमों द्वारा किए जाने लगे हैं। भूमिकाओं की भिन्नताओं के परिणामस्वरूप संरचनात्मक परिवर्तन सामाजिक जीवन के लगभग सभी क्षेत्रों में महसूस किए जा रहे हैं।

आप सभी सामाजिक परिवर्तन के विविध पहलुओं एवं कारकों से पहले से ही परिचित हैं। इसलिए हम यहां सामाजिक परिवर्तन की संरचनात्मक प्रक्रिया के संदर्भ में औद्योगीकरण, पश्चिमीकरण और आधुनिकीकरण के बारे में बात करेंगे।

औद्योगीकरण

विज्ञान मानव-विरासत का एक महत्त्वपूर्ण तत्त्व है, जो प्रकृति का व्यवस्थित ज्ञान प्रदान करता है। दूसरी ओर प्रौद्योगिकी वह तत्त्व है जो इस ज्ञान के उपयोग को अंतर्विष्ट करता है। इस अर्थ में, प्रौद्योगिकी का एक व्यावहारिक लक्ष्य होता है। इसका विकास सामान्य मानव को लाभ पहुंचाने की इच्छा से ही हुआ है। यह लक्ष्य लगभग सभी क्षेत्रों जैसे – उद्योग, कृषि, यातायात, संचार इत्यादि में महसूस किया गया है। हम अपने दैनिक जीवन में जो द्रुत परिवर्तन महसूस करते हैं, वे नई तकनीकी, नए आविष्कार एवं उत्पादन के नए तरीकों से संबंधित हैं। इस तरह से उद्योगों में आधुनिक प्रौद्योगिकी के प्रयोग ने हमारे आर्थिक जीवन को ही प्रभावित नहीं किया है, बल्कि हमारी सामाजिक एवं सांस्कृतिक व्यवस्था को भी प्रभावित किया है, जिस पर अब हम विचार करेंगे।

औद्योगीकरण प्रौद्योगिक उन्नति की वह प्रक्रिया है जो सामान्य उपकरणों से चलने वाले घरेलू उत्पादन से लेकर वृहद् स्तरीय कारखानों के उत्पादन तक संपन्न होती है, परंतु समाजशास्त्रीय दृष्टि से यह शब्द उद्योगों के संरचनात्मक बदलाव के फलस्वरूप होने वाले आर्थिक एवं सामाजिक परिवर्तन की प्रक्रिया को व्यक्त करता है। औद्योगीकरण में उन तमाम सामाजिक कारकों की वृहद् शृंखला समाहित हैं जो सामाजिक जीवन के चरित्र को गहराई से प्रभावित करते हैं। उदाहरण के तौर पर, कारखानों के माध्यम से किया गया विस्तृत श्रम विभाजन तथा नई कार्य-संस्कृति इत्यादि।

भारत में औद्योगीकरण

अंग्रेजी शासन के पहले से भी भारत में घरेलू और कुटीर उद्योगों का व्यापक जाल विद्यमान था। परंतु आधुनिक बड़े उद्योग उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी के पूर्वार्द्ध में यूरोप की औद्योगिक क्रांति के पश्चात ही स्थापित हुए। सन 1850 में, जब पहले पहल प्रमुख उद्योगों की स्थापना हुई, से लेकर 1914 के बीच भारत में विश्व के सबसे बड़े जूट उद्योग की स्थापना हुई, विश्व में पांचवे सबसे बड़े सूती वस्त्र उद्योग की स्थापना हुई तथा विश्व का तीसरा सबसे बड़ा रेलवे-तंत्र स्थापित हुआ। इस तरह से, आज़ादी मिलने तक भारत में औद्योगिक विकास की लगभग एक शताब्दी पूरी हो चुकी थी।

आज़ादी के बाद औद्योगीकरण की गति में उल्लेखनीय वृद्धि पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं के दौरान हुई। कई नए उद्योगों की स्थापना के साथ इसमें विस्तार एवं औद्योगिक संरचना में विविधताएं दिखाई दीं। सन 1951 में केवल दो प्रमुख इकाइयां थीं जो लोहे और इस्पात का उत्पादन करती थीं। इस तरह के प्रमुख इस्पात कारखानों की संख्या सन 1980 तक छ: हो गई तथा इनकी क्षमता 80 लाख टन तक हो गई। देश में नए उद्योगों के क्षेत्र में ट्रैक्टर, इलैक्ट्रॉनिक यंत्रों तथा उर्वरक इत्यादि में महत्त्वपूर्ण प्रगति हुई जो 1951 तक अस्तित्व में नहीं थी। अब वस्त्र उद्योग सिर्फ सूती एवं जूट के कपड़ों तक सीमित नहीं रहा बल्कि ऐसी विशाल इकाइयों की स्थापना हुई जो विभिन्न प्रकार के सिंथेटिक वस्त्रों का उत्पादन करती हैं। आज़ादी के पश्चात उद्योगों के विकास का एक महत्त्वपूर्ण पक्ष यह है कि सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र के उपक्रमों में तीव्र गति से विस्तार हुआ है। ये औद्योगिक संस्थान अनेक प्रकार के उत्पादन करते हैं, जैसे – इस्पात, कोयला, भारी एवं हल्के इंजीनियरिंग यंत्र, रेल इंजन, हवाई जहाज़, पेट्रोलियम उत्पाद एवं उर्वरक। भारत के औद्योगिक विकास के बारे में ऊपर दिए गए संक्षिप्त विवरणों से देश में स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के समय से होने वाले औद्योगीकरण के विस्तार का पता चलता है।

औद्योगीकरण के सामाजिक परिणाम

अब हम औद्योगीकरण के आर्थिक एवं सामाजिक परिणामों के बारे में बात करेंगे। औद्योगीकरण के चलते हमारी आर्थिक परिस्थितियों में अत्यधिक संरचनात्मक परिवर्तन हुए हैं। इसने हमारे घरेलू उत्पादन को पूरी तरह से बदल ही नहीं दिया, बल्कि कई क्षेत्रों को तो पूरी तरह से समाप्त ही कर दिया। कारखानों में बड़े पैमाने पर उत्पादन होने लगे। श्रम-विभाजन से कार्य की विशेषज्ञता और औद्योगिक श्रमिकों के एक नए वर्ग का विकास इस औद्योगिक ढांचे में परिवर्तन के परिणामस्वरूप हुआ। इसी तरह से कृषि-कार्य के तरीकों में अंतर आने से कृषि उत्पादन की प्रकृति में भी परिवर्तन आए। कृषि-कार्य के तरीकों में परिवर्तन आने के कारण कृषि-कार्य करने वालों के आपसी संबंधों एवं उनकी जीवन शैली में भी परिवर्तन हुआ।

इसके अतिरिक्त, औद्योगीकरण ने घरेलू उत्पादन के तरीकों में भी परिवर्तन किया। महिलाएं खेतों, कारखानों एवं व्यावसायिक संस्थानों में विभिन्न प्रकार के कार्य करने लगीं। महिलाओं की नई आर्थिक भूमिका ने उन्हें नया वातावरण दिया, जहां उन्होंने अपनी परिवर्तित सामाजिक स्थिति को महसूस किया। महिलाओं की इस नई भूमिका ने उन्हें परिवार के अंदर निर्णय लेने का नया अवसर प्रदान किया। ये परिवर्तन औद्योगीकरण के चलते होने वाली व्यावसायिक विविधता के कारण हुए हैं। उदाहरण के तौर पर, यह ज़रूरी नहीं है कि परिवार में काम करने वाले सभी सदस्यों को किसी एक ही व्यवसाय अथवा पेशे में एक ही स्थान पर कार्य मिल जाए। हो सकता है कि परिवार का एक सदस्य उत्तर प्रदेश में पारिवारिक भूमि पर

खेती का काम करता हो और दूसरा चेन्नई में इंजीनियर हो। इन तमाम परिस्थितियों में एक संयुक्त परिवार का कई एकाकी परिवारों में बिखराव स्वाभाविक है। इस तरह के संरचनात्मक परिवर्तनों के साथ कुछ प्रकार्यात्मक विशिष्टताएं भी होती हैं। उदाहरण के लिए, जैसा पहले बताया गया है, पारंपरिक संयुक्त परिवार एक बहुप्रकार्यात्मक संस्था थी। यह सभी तरह के आर्थिक, शैक्षिक, मनोरंजन व समाजीकरण संबंधी तथा जैविक कार्यों को संपादित करती थी, जबकि आज परिवार के जैविकीय तथा समाजीकरण के कार्यों के अलावा दूसरे सभी कार्य औपचारिक आर्थिक संगठनों, संस्थाओं एवं राज्यों के द्वारा किए जा रहे हैं।

यातायात एवं संचार के विकास के अधिक दूरगामी परिणाम देखने को मिल रहे हैं। रेल, सड़क और समुद्री यातायात के साधनों ने न केवल एक स्थान से दूसरे स्थान की यात्रा को बढ़ाया है, बल्कि आंतरिक एवं बाह्य प्रवसन में भी वृद्धि की है। व्यवसाय के नए अवसरों की तलाश में बड़ी संख्या में लोग गांवों से शहरों की ओर प्रवास कर रहे हैं। इसी तरह से, बड़ी संख्या में कुशल तथा अकुशल स्त्री–पुरुष, अच्छी जीविका के लिए दूसरे देशों की यात्रा भी कर रहे हैं।

सामाजिक स्तरीकरण की व्यवस्था में भी परिवर्तन देखा जा रहा है। जाति–व्यवस्था, जो भारतीय सामाजिक व्यवस्था की महत्त्वपूर्ण वास्तविक संरचनात्मक स्थिति है, में यह परिवर्तन विशेष रूप से देखा जा रहा है। किसी हद तक जातियों ने अपने व्यवसाय को छोड़ा है तथा पारंपरिक दायित्वों से अपने को मुक्त किया है। यह संरचनात्मक रूपांतरण से ही संबंधित है। इस प्रकार से जाति एवं व्यवसाय में अलगाव को एक महत्त्वपूर्ण परिवर्तन के रूप में देखा जा रहा है। व्यावसायिक विविधता ने तमाम व्यवसायों को जाति के बंधन से मुक्त कर दिया है। परंतु यह गांवों की अपेक्षा शहरों में अधिक हुआ है और बड़े औद्योगिक शहरों में तो यह और भी अधिक हुआ है। बड़ी संख्या में लोग, जो जाति व्यवस्था के निचले स्तर से संबंधित थे और पहले जातिगत व्यवसाय करते थे, अब नए व्यवसायों में प्रवेश कर रहे हैं। इस तरह से, ऊंची समझी जाने वाली जातियां उन व्यवसायों के लिए आगे आ रही हैं जो पहले अच्छे नहीं समझे जाते थे। पहले छोटी जाति के लोगों को उनके पारंपरिक व्यवसाय के साथ अलग कर दिया जाता था, क्योंकि वे अपवित्र और आर्थिक तथा सामाजिक रूप से निम्न प्रस्थिति वाले समझे जाते थे। दूसरी तरफ, उत्तर भारत में ऊंची जाति के लोग जैसे ब्राह्मण, राजपूत और कायस्थ शारीरिक श्रम, कार्यालय में चपरासी अथवा इसी तरह के छोटे कार्यों को करने के लिए विवश थे। व्यावसायिक संरचना एवं गतिशीलता में परिवर्तन के साथ-साथ अंतर्जातीय शक्ति संरचना में भी परिवर्तन हो रहा है।

अब तक हमने औद्योगीकरण के सामाजिक-आर्थिक परिणामों का विश्लेषण किया है, लेकिन इस संदर्भ में हमें एक मूलभूत तथ्य की अनदेखी नहीं करनी चाहिए। औद्योगिक परिवर्तन के प्रति किसी समाज की प्रतिक्रिया कैसी होती है यह उसकी रचनात्मक क्षमता एवं सामाजिक परिवेश पर निर्भर करता है इसलिए, औद्योगीकरण के परिणामस्वरूप एक समाज में होने वाला परिवर्तन दूसरे समाज में होने वाले परिवर्तनों से काफी मात्रा में भिन्न होता है।

नगरीकरण

नगरीकरण वह प्रक्रिया है जिसमें लोग गांवों में रहने के बजाय कस्बों एवं शहरों में रहना शुरू कर देते हैं। वे ऐसे तरीकों का प्रयोग करते हैं कि कृषि आधारित निवास क्षेत्र गैर-कृषकीय शहरी निवास क्षेत्र में परिवर्तित हो जाता है। शहरी केंद्रों का विकास बढ़ी

हुई औद्योगिक तथा व्यावसायिक गतिविधियों का परिणाम है। कस्बों तथा नगरों के आकारों में वृद्धि के परिणामस्वरूप नगरीय जनसंख्या में वृद्धि नगरीकरण का सबसे महत्त्वपूर्ण पक्ष है। इन केंद्रों की सबसे बड़ी विशेषता है कि ये गैर-कृषकीय होते हैं।

संरचनात्मक परिवर्तन की प्रक्रिया के रूप में नगरीकरण निश्चित रूप से औद्योगीकरण से संबद्ध है, लेकिन यह हमेशा औद्योगीकरण के परिणामस्वरूप ही नहीं होता। कुछ स्थानों पर औद्योगीकरण के बिना भी नगरीकरण हुआ है। औद्योगीकरण आर्थिक विकास से निश्चित रूप से संबद्ध होता है, परंतु नगरीकरण के बारे में ठीक यही नहीं कहा जा सकता। नगरीय परिवेश एक विशिष्ट तरह के सामाजिक जीवन का निर्माण करता है, जिसे शिकागो स्कूल के एक प्रमुख सदस्य लुई वर्थ, '**नगरीयता**' कहते हैं। शहरों में सामाजिक जीवन अधिक औपचारिक एवं अवैयक्तिक होता है। आपसी संबंध जटिल श्रम-विभाजन पर आधारित होते हैं तथा इसकी प्रकृति अनुबंधात्मक होती है।

भारत में नगरीकरण

भारत गांवों का देश है और आगामी कई दशकों तक ऐसा ही रहेगा। परंतु इसका आशय यह नहीं है कि इस विशाल उपमहाद्वीप में नगरों का अस्तित्व ही नहीं था। भारत में नगरों का अस्तित्व ईसा पूर्व 3 हजार वर्षों तक खोजा जा सकता है। पुरातात्त्विक खुदाई से प्राचीन नगरीकरण के संकेत मिले हैं। इतिहासकार बताते हैं कि सच्चे अर्थों में नगरीय सभ्यता का विकास सिंधु घाटी में महत्त्वपूर्ण नगरीय केंद्रों के रूप में मोहनजोदड़ो तथा हड़प्पा के विकास से हुआ था। इन दो नगरों के अलावा कई और नगरीय बस्तियों जैसे – उत्तरी राजस्थान में कालीबंगन, गुजरात में लोथल तथा हरियाणा में बनवाली का अभ्युदय प्रमुख नगरीय केंद्रों के रूप में हुआ था। परवर्ती समय में नगरीकरण एक निश्चित क्षेत्र तक सीमित नहीं रहा। इस चरण में नगरीकरण का उल्लेख उत्तरी भारत के उत्तर वैदिक साहित्य में तथा दक्षिण के संगम-साहित्य में मिलता है। बौद्ध रचनाओं में भी नगरीय केंद्रों का उल्लेख मिलता है। इसके अतिरिक्त मध्यकाल के दौरान नगरीकरण उत्तर में श्रीनगर से लेकर दक्षिण में मदुरई तक फैला था। यह समय नए नगरों एवं कस्बों की स्थापना से अधिक पुराने नगरों के पुनरुद्धार के लिए जाना जाता है। परंतु ये पूर्व-औद्योगिक नगर मुख्यतः तीर्थ स्थान के रूप में, राज्य की राजधानी के रूप में अथवा व्यापारिक केंद्र के रूप में जाने जाते थे।

भारत में आधुनिक उद्योग बहुल नगरों का विकास पश्चिम से संपर्क के बाद ही हुआ। नगरीकरण की प्रक्रिया अंग्रेज़ी उपनिवेशवादी शासन के दौरान तेज़ी से बढ़ी। भारत में अंग्रेज़ी प्रशासन ने वृहद स्तर पर नगरीकरण को प्रोत्साहित किया। प्रमुख बंदरगाहों जैसे – कलकत्ता, बंबई और मद्रास (अब कोलकाता, मुंबई और चेन्नई) का अभ्युदय एवं विकास अंग्रेज़ी शासन के प्रयासों के कारण ही हुआ। इस तरह से क्षेत्रीय ग्रीष्मकालीन राजधानी की स्थापना सुदूर पर्वतीय स्थलों पर, जैसे – शिलौंग, श्रीनगर तथा शिमला जैसे स्थानों पर हुई। हालांकि रियासतों का विकास तीव्र गति से नहीं हो सका परंतु उनकी राजधानियां थीं। कुछ रियासतों जैसे – हैदराबाद, इंदौर, जयपुर तथा मैसूर की जनसंख्या एक लाख से ऊपर थी। आज़ादी के पश्चात नगरीय परिदृश्य में बहुत परिवर्तन आए। 1951 से 1991 के बीच नगरीय जनसंख्या में साढ़े तीन गुणा वृद्धि हुई। कुल जनसंख्या के अनुपात में नगरीय आबादी 1951 के 17.6 प्रतिशत से बढ़कर 1991 में 25.7 प्रतिशत हो गई। उन नगरों की संख्या जिनकी जनसंख्या दस लाख या उससे अधिक थी इसी समय के दौरान 5 से बढ़कर 23 हो गई। सन 2001 की जनगणना के अनुसार नगरों की जनसंख्या 27.78 प्रतिशत थी तथा दस लाख से अधिक की

जनसंख्या वाले नगरों की संख्या बढ़कर 35 हो गई। आज़ादी के पश्चात नगरीय जनसंख्या के बढ़ने का सबसे बड़ा कारण जनसंख्या में होने वाली तीव्र बढ़ोतरी, गांव से नगर की ओर प्रवसन तथा नगर-केंद्रित औद्योगीकरण के साथ-साथ गांवों की पूरी तरह उपेक्षा थी।

भारत में नगरीकरण की बढ़ती प्रवृत्ति के पीछे नगरों की ओर प्रवसन की भूमिका महत्त्वपूर्ण है। बड़ी संख्या में लोग गांवों को छोड़ कर सिर्फ बड़े नगरों में ही नहीं, बल्कि मध्यम तथा छोटे नगरों में भी आ रहे हैं। अब दूरी कोई बाधा नहीं रही। आज कोई भी किसी सुदूर उत्तर भारत के ग्रामीण को दक्षिण भारत के नगरों में घूमता हुआ पा सकता है। यह प्रवसन मुख्यत: उत्पादन एवं नौकरी से संबंधित हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त, अकुशल मज़दूरों में मौसमी प्रवसन की प्रवृत्ति भी आम बात हो गई है। हम आंध्र प्रदेश, बिहार, उड़ीसा से आने वाले मज़दूरों को पंजाब, हरियाणा और पश्चिमी उत्तर प्रदेश में खेतों में काम करते देख सकते हैं। मज़दूर मौसमी प्रवसन करते हैं और बाद में अपनी पसंद के क्षेत्रों में स्थायी रूप से बस जाते हैं।

नगरीकरण के सामाजिक परिणाम

अब हमें तेज़ी से हो रहे नगरीकरण के सामाजिक परिणामों के बारे में विचार करना है। नगरीकरण ने व्यावसायिक विविधता के परिणामस्वरूप संयुक्त परिवार के ढांचे में परिवर्तन कर दिया है। इसके परिणामस्वरूप परिवार तथा नातेदारी के प्रकार्यों में बहुत गिरावट आई है। पारंपरिक पारिवारिक नियमों में ढील आई है तथा अंतर्वैयक्तिक संबंध अधिक औपचारिक होते जा रहे हैं। एक नगरीय बच्चा अब अपेक्षाकृत छोटी दुनिया में पल रहा है। एकाकी परिवार में उसकी देखभाल के लिए कोई भी रिश्तेदार मौजूद नहीं है। बच्चों को परिवार से बाहर खेलने के लिए अपने मित्रों का चयन करना पड़ता है। इस तरह से बच्चा स्वतंत्रता एवं नवीन विचारों से युक्त एक विशेष प्रकार के व्यक्तित्व का विकास करता है। इस तरह की परिस्थिति संयुक्त परिवार के एक-दूसरे पर निर्भरता के वातावरण से पूरी तरह अलग होती है। अंतर्वैयक्तिक संबंधों के प्रेम एवं आत्मीयता की प्रकृति में भी परिवर्तन हो रहा है। बच्चों और माताओं पर जहां अधिक ध्यान दिया जाता है वहीं दूसरे संबंधियों के प्रति संवेदना एवं आत्मीयता में कमी आ जाती है। इसी तरह नगरीय समाज में पति एवं पत्नी के घरेलू दायित्वों में भी परिवर्तन आ रहे हैं। चूंकि घर के दायित्वों का बोझ उठाने के लिए दूसरा कोई वयस्क सदस्य मौजूद नहीं रहता, पति-पत्नी परिवार के दायित्वों को समान रूप से उठाते हैं।

इस प्रकार से नातेदारी के कर्तव्यों में कमी आने के कारण शहरी क्षेत्र में सामाजिक जीवन एकाकी होता जा रहा है। कई ऐसे बंधन जो उनको एक वर्ग या समुदाय में बांधे रहते थे, आज टूट गए हैं। परिणामस्वरूप मनुष्यों के आपसी संबंध अधिक औपचारिक एवं अवैयक्तिक होते जा रहे हैं।

दूसरा प्रत्यक्ष परिवर्तन जाति की पहचान के क्षेत्र में है। शहर का निवासी ऐसे संजाल में सहभागी होता है जिसमें कई जाति के लोग शामिल होते हैं। आज वैयक्तिक उपलब्धि एवं आधुनिक प्रस्थिति के प्रतीक जाति की पहचान से अधिक महत्त्वपूर्ण हो गए हैं। खान-पान, विवाह तथा व्यावसायिक संबंधों में जहां जाति संबंधी नियमों का सुस्पष्ट प्रभाव है, वहाँ इन नियमों का पालन अधिक कड़ाई से नहीं किया जा रहा है। अत: यह कहा जा सकता है कि शहरी जीवन शैली ने लोगों को जाति के आधार पर अपने बारे में सोचने की अपेक्षा व्यक्ति के रूप में सोचने के लिए प्रेरित किया है। सामाजिक प्रस्थिति के निर्धारण में प्रदत्त तत्त्वों का महत्त्व क्रमशः कम होता जा रहा है

तथा अर्जित उपलब्धियों का महत्त्व तेज़ी से बढ़ता जा रहा है। आज शहरी जीवन में शिक्षा का स्तर, व्यवसाय की प्रकृति तथा आय का स्तर किसी भी उपलब्धि के महत्त्वपूर्ण सूचक हैं। इसलिए लोग उच्च सामाजिक प्रस्थिति के लिए शिक्षा, व्यवसाय तथा आय को प्राथमिक तौर पर स्वीकार कर रहे हैं। इसका यह अर्थ नहीं है कि अर्जित प्रस्थिति ने प्रदत्त प्रस्थिति को तथा वर्ग ने जाति को पूरी तरह समाप्त कर दिया है।

परंतु यहां यह भी स्पष्ट कर देना आवश्यक है कि नगरीकरण द्वारा आने वाले परिवर्तनों ने परिवार के पारंपरिक स्वरूप, नातेदारी तथा जाति-व्यवस्था को पूरी तरह परिवर्तित नहीं किया है। वे अनुकूलन से गुज़र रहे हैं तथा उनके प्रकार्य पूरी तरह समाप्त नहीं हुए हैं।

नगरीय समस्याएं

हम पहले ही देख चुके हैं कि भारत में नगरीकरण किस गति से बढ़ रहा है। इसने मानव जीवन के विविध पक्षों को प्रभावित किया है। नगरीय केंद्रों के विस्तार ने विविध प्रकार की समस्याओं को भी बढ़ाया है। नगरीय परिवेश मलिन है, जीवन निम्नस्तरीय है, एवं नगरीय दुर्व्यवस्था अकल्पनीय है। अत्यधिक भीड़-भाड़ तथा प्रदूषण, आवास तथा झोपड़पट्टी, अपराध तथा बाल अपराध, शराबखोरी तथा मादक द्रव्य सेवन कुछ प्रमुख समस्याएं हैं। हम यहां इनमें से ऐसी कुछ समस्याओं पर विचार करेंगे जिसका देश पर दूरगामी प्रभाव पड़ता है।

नगरों में अत्यधिक भीड़-भाड़ भारत की नगरीय जनसंख्या की विशालता के कारण ही है। इसका प्रभाव आवास, जल-आपूर्ति, साफ-सफाई, यातायात, विद्युत-आपूर्ति तथा रोज़गार के अवसरों में होने वाली गिरावट पर स्पष्ट देखा जा सकता है। आवास विहीन लोगों की बढ़ती हुई संख्या, घर के किरायों में अत्यधिक वृद्धि तथा अत्यल्प उपलब्ध मकानों के लिए होने वाली छीना-झपटी अधिकांश नगरों और कस्बों में देखी जाती है। सन 1991 में भारत में शहरी जनसंख्या का घनत्व लगभग 3500 व्यक्ति प्रति वर्ग किलोमीटर था। यह 400 व्यक्ति प्रति वर्ग किलोमीटर के स्वीकृत मानदंड से अधिक है। इस प्रकार शहरी क्षेत्र में उपलब्ध अधिसंरचना की तुलना में बहुत अधिक लोग निवास करते हैं।

मलिन बस्तियों की समस्या आवास एवं अत्यधिक भीड़-भाड़ से संबंधित है। मलिन बस्तियां टूटे-फूटे उपेक्षित घरों का वह इलाका है जहां लोग आवश्यक जन सुविधाओं के बिना अत्यधिक गरीबी में रहते हैं। विविध प्रकार की मलिन बस्तियों में रहने वाली भारतीय नगरीय जनसंख्या के बारे में आकलन अलग-अलग हैं। फिर भी, एक अनुमान के अनुसार, सन 1995 में मलिन बस्तियों में रहने वाले लोगों की संख्या 450 लाख से कम नहीं थी और जिस तेज़ी से नगरीय जनसंख्या में बढ़ोतरी हो रही है, यह संख्या निश्चित रूप से बढ़ी होगी। ऐसा कहा जाता है कि मलिन बस्तियों में रहने वाली भारतीय जनसंख्या विश्व में लगभग 107 देशों की कुल जनसंख्या से अधिक होगी। सामान्यतः जितना बड़ा नगर होता है, वहां उतने ही अधिक लोग मलिन बस्तियों में निवास करते हैं। निश्चित ही मुंबई, कोलकाता, दिल्ली जैसे महानगरों में छोटे एवं मध्यम श्रेणी के नगरों की तुलना में अधिक मलिन बस्तियां हैं। सन 1991 में मुंबई में मलिन बस्तियों में रहने वालों की संख्या मुंबई की कुल जनसंख्या का 45 प्रतिशत, दिल्ली में वहां की जनसंख्या का 44 प्रतिशत तथा कोलकाता में 42 प्रतिशत था। दूसरे महानगरों जैसे – चेन्नई, बैंगलोर, हैदराबाद, अहमदाबाद में भी स्थिति इससे बेहतर नहीं है। वास्तव में, शहरों की बढ़ती हुई आबादी की आवश्यकताओं के पूरा न हो पाने के कारण मलिन बस्तियों की समस्याएं गुणात्मक रीति से बढ़ती जा रही हैं।

प्रदूषण नगरों की दूसरी प्रमुख समस्या है। प्रदूषण बढ़ने के विभिन्न कारण हैं। नगर अपने गंदे मैले जल एवं औद्योगिक कचरों के 40 से 60 प्रतिशत भाग को समीपवर्ती नदियों में बहाते हैं। छोटे शहर अपने कूड़े-कचरे तथा मल-मूत्र को खुले नालों के द्वारा समीप की नदियों इत्यादि में डालते हैं। इसी तरह से नगरीय उद्योग अपनी पुरानी चिमनियों से धुएं एवं गैसों के द्वारा वातावरण को प्रदूषित करते हैं। दिल्ली में वाहन उत्सर्जन द्वारा 64 प्रतिशत वायु प्रदूषण की बात सभी जानते हैं। वास्तव में दिल्ली निर्विवाद रूप से विश्व के सर्वाधिक प्रदूषित नगरों में से एक है। जो ज़हर हम वातावरण में घोल रहे हैं वही हमें वायु, जल तथा भोजन के रूप में मिलता है। यह क्रमशः असंख्य रोगों तथा समस्याओं को जन्म देता है जिससे हमारा जीवन दुखों एवं खतरों से भर जाता है।

इन सबके बावजूद नगरीय क्षेत्रों में प्रदूषण की समस्या को न केवल पहचाना गया है बल्कि परिस्थितियों को सुधारने के उपाय भी किए गए हैं। यहां तक कि भारत के सर्वोच्च न्यायालय ने भी इसमें हस्तक्षेप किया है तथा दिल्ली के समस्त प्रदूषण फैलाने वाली इकाईयों को बंद करने का आदेश दिया है। हाल ही में दिल्ली में अप्रदूषणकारी संपीडित प्राकृतिक ईंधन (सी. एन. जी.) का प्रयोग सर्वोच्च न्यायालय द्वारा बसों तथा ऑटोरिक्शा के लिए अनिवार्य कर दिया गया है।

नगरों द्वारा सभी दूसरी तरह की समस्याओं का भी सामना किया जाता है जिस पर यहां संक्षिप्तता के खयाल से विचार नहीं किया गया है। इन समस्याओं में नगरीय गरीबी, नगरीय योजनाएं तथा नगरीय प्रशासन प्रमुख हैं।

आधुनिकीकरण

आधुनिकीकरण एक प्रक्रिया होने से पहले एक विचार हैं। चूंकि यह एक विचार है, इसलिए समाज विज्ञानी इसके अर्थ को लेकर एक मत नहीं हैं। द्वितीय विश्व युद्ध के बाद के दशकों में औद्योगिक पूंजीवादी देशों जैसे – ब्रिटेन तथा संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिका में माना जाता था कि तीसरी दुनिया में आर्थिक विकास का मूलमंत्र आधुनिकीकरण में निहित है। आधुनिकीकरण की अवधारणा को पूंजीवाद द्वारा प्राप्त किए गए सामाजिक विकास द्वारा समझा गया। इस प्रकार की व्याख्या के द्वारा पश्चिमी चिंतक भारत जैसे विकासशील देशों को यह समझाना चाहते थे कि पूंजीवाद की छत्रछाया में ही आर्थिक विकास संभव है।

इस विचार के अनुसार आधुनिकीकरण तकनीकी परिचय और उसके प्रयोग के ज्ञान पर आधारित है। साथ ही, कई सामाजिक और राजनीतिक परिस्थितियां आधुनिकीकरण को संभव बनाने के लिए आवश्यक मानी गई हैं। इनमें से कुछ निम्नलिखित हैं –

1. स्कूली शिक्षा के स्तर में बढ़ोत्तरी
2. संचार माध्यमों का विकास
3. संचार तथा यातायात की उपलब्धता
4. लोकतांत्रिक राजनीतिक संस्थाएं
5. अधिक नगरीय तथा गतिशील जनसंख्या
6. संयुक्त परिवार के स्थान पर एकाकी परिवार
7. जटिल श्रम विभाजन
8. धर्म का सार्वजनिक जीवन में घटता प्रभाव
9. पदार्थों तथा सेवाओं के विनिमय के लिए पारंपरिक तरीकों के स्थान पर विकसित बाज़ार।

इस प्रकार आधुनिकीकरण सामाजिक व्यवस्था में इन परिस्थितियों की उपस्थिति का परिणाम है। यह स्पष्ट है कि यहां आधुनिकीकरण शब्द का प्रयोग बहुत व्यापक अर्थ में हुआ है। इसलिए आधुनिकीकरण के क्षेत्र तथा विस्तार के संबंध में हमें विभिन्न अवधारणाएं मिलती हैं।

कुछ समाजशास्त्री आधुनिकीकरण को उसके संरचनात्मक पक्ष तक सीमित रखते हैं तो कुछ उसके

सांस्कृतिक पहलू पर ज़ोर देते हैं। कुछ अध्ययनों में राजनीतिक आधुनिकीकरण के मुद्दे को प्रमुखता दी गई है तो कुछ में इसके मनोवैज्ञानिक अर्थ का विश्लेषण किया गया है। सामाजिक परिवर्तन की प्रक्रिया के रूप में इस अवधारणा पर चिंतन लर्नर के लेखन में पाया जाता है। 'इनसाइक्लोपीडिया ऑफ सोशल साइंसेज़' में अपने लेख 'माडर्नाइज़ेशन' में लर्नर ने आधुनिकीकरण की व्याख्या इन शब्दों में की है – "आधुनिकीकरण एक प्राचीन प्रक्रिया के लिए एक समकालीन शब्द है – सामाजिक परिवर्तन की यह प्रक्रिया जिसके अनुसार कम विकसित समाज अधिक विकसित समाजों की विशेषताओं को ग्रहण करते हैं।" उन्होंने आगे लिखा है, "इसलिए आधुनिकीकरण सामाजिक परिवर्तन की वह प्रक्रिया है जिसमें विकास इसका आर्थिक घटक है।" स्पष्ट है कि इस शब्द की यह व्याख्या उस अर्थ से मेल खाती है जिसकी चर्चा हमने आरंभ में की थी। अत: आधुनिकीकरण परिवर्तन की वह प्रक्रिया है जो किसी देश को अविकसित स्थिति से विकसित स्थिति की ओर ले जाती है। यह आर्थिक विकास के लिए सामाजिक वातावरण तैयार करती है। औद्योगीकरण, नगरीकरण, राष्ट्रीय आय और प्रति व्यक्ति आय को विकास का मापदंड माना जाता है।

तथापि विकास के आर्थिक मापदंडों को स्वीकार करने के साथ ही कुछ समाजशास्त्रियों ने विकास की परख करने के लिए कुछ गैर-आर्थिक मापदंड भी बताए हैं। उनके तर्क के अनुसार केवल बढ़ता हुआ उत्पादन ही विकास के स्तर को जांचने के लिए पर्याप्त नहीं है। एक समाज को बढ़ते उत्पादन के साथ आत्मनिर्भरता की स्थिति की तरफ आगे बढ़ना पड़ता है। अतएव गैर-आर्थिक मापदंड जैसे - शिक्षा का स्तर, संचार के प्रकार्यों में बढ़ोत्तरी, संचार सुविधाओं में वृद्धि तथा परिवर्तन में सामाजिक मानदंडों इत्यादि को भी ध्यान में रखना पड़ता है।

ऊपर दिए गए आधुनिकीकरण के अर्थ में मुख्य रूप से परिवर्तन के संरचनात्मक पक्ष अंतर्निहित हैं। दूसरे शब्दों में, आधुनिकीकरण के अंतर्गत अर्थव्यवस्था, राज्यतंत्र और सामाजिक संस्थाओं में संरचनात्मक रूपांतरण आता है। यहां इस बात पर ध्यान देना आवश्यक है कि आधुनिकीकरण की अवधारणा की सांस्कृतिक संदर्भ में भी व्याख्या की गई है। इस अर्थ में आधुनिकीकरण मूल्यों और प्रवृत्तियों में परिवर्तन की ओर संकेत करता है। आधुनिकता में वे मूल्य और मानक निहित हैं जो सार्वजनिक हैं। आधुनिकीकरण के इस पक्ष की व्याख्या करते हुए योगेंद्र सिंह ने यह विचार व्यक्त किया है कि आधुनिकीकरण सार्वजनिक दृष्टिकोण से मुद्दों और उनके मूल्यांकन की तार्किक प्रवृत्ति है। इस प्रकार तकनीकी और आर्थिक विकास किसी समाज में आधुनिकीकरण के स्तर को मापने के एकमात्र मापदंड नहीं हैं। वैज्ञानिक विश्व दृष्टि और मानवतावादी विचार के प्रति प्रतिबद्धता भी उतनी ही आवश्यक है।

इसके साथ ही आधुनिकीकरण के विचार का विश्लेषण परंपरा और आधुनिकता के युगल विचारों के संदर्भ में भी हुआ है। यह तर्क प्रस्तुत किया गया है कि आधुनिकता और परंपरा परस्पर विरोधी हैं। इस अर्थ में अविकसित समाजों को परंपरावादी और विकसित समाजों को आधुनिक की संज्ञा दी जाती है। इस प्रकार आधुनिकीकरण पारंपरिकता से आधुनिकता की ओर परिवर्तन का संकेत देता है। इस दृष्टिकोण के अनुसार परिवर्तन अनुमानित दिशा में घटित होता है। दूसरे शब्दों में, आधुनिकीकरण के लिए प्रत्येक समाज को एक ही दिशा में जाना पड़ता है और एक ही मार्ग को अपनाना पड़ता है। पहले से प्रचलित मूल्यों और संरचनाओं का स्थान नए मूल्य और संरचनाएं ले लेती हैं।

परंतु विकासशील देशों में समाजशास्त्रियों ने आधुनिकीकरण की इस व्याख्या की आलोचना की है। उनके अनुसार आधुनिकता और परंपरा एक-दूसरे

के विरोधी ध्रुव नहीं हैं। परिवर्तन की प्रक्रिया के दौरान नए मूल्य अपनाए जाते हैं, लेकिन पारंपरिक मूल्यों और संस्थाओं को अनिवार्य रूप से छोड़ नहीं दिया जाता। कोई समाज नए मूल्यों को इसलिए अपनाता है क्योंकि वे अधिक सक्षम और लाभदायक होते हैं। इस परिप्रेक्ष्य में इन समाजशास्त्रियों का मत है कि आधुनिकीकरण विभिन्न समाजों में अलग-अलग रूपों में विकसित होगा। इस प्रकार आधुनिकीकरण का स्वरूप हर समाज में भिन्न हो सकता है। यह चर्चा दर्शाती है कि आधुनिकीकरण की प्रक्रियाओं में संरचनात्मक और सांस्कृतिक, दोनों आयाम सम्मिलित हैं। फिर भी इस संदर्भ में हम आधुनिकीकरण को मुख्य रूप से परिवर्तन की संरचनात्मक प्रक्रिया के रूप में ग्रहण करेंगे।

भारत में आधुनिकीकरण

पारंपरिक भारतीय समाज में परिवर्तन की प्रकृति को समझने के लिए कुछ समाजशास्त्री सामाजिक परिवर्तन और आधुनिकीकरण के बीच भेद करते हैं। हालांकि पारंपरिक भारत में सामाजिक परिवर्तन हमेशा होता रहा है। परंतु इसकी प्रकृति निश्चित रूप से पूर्व-आधुनिक ही थी। एक पारंपरिक संस्था का स्थान दूसरी संस्था ले लेती थी और सामाजिक व्यवस्था तथा संस्कृति में कोई मूलभूत परिवर्तन नहीं होता था।

ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से, भारत में आधुनिकीकरण ब्रिटिश शासन की स्थापना के साथ आरंभ हुआ तथा स्वतंत्रता के बाद भी जारी रहा। आधुनिकीकरण की प्रकृति और दिशा इन दोनों चरणों में भिन्न रही है। इसलिए आधुनिकीकरण की प्रक्रियाओं का विश्लेषण दो भिन्न चरणों में करना उचित होगा – औपनिवेशिक तथा उत्तर-औपनिवेशिक चरण।

जैसा कि पहले कहा जा चुका है, भारत में आधुनिकीकरण अंग्रेजी शासन आने के बाद आरंभ हुआ। पश्चिम के साथ संपर्क से सामाजिक संरचना और सांस्कृतिक संस्थाओं में दूरगामी परिवर्तन हुए। जीवन के लगभग सभी महत्त्वपूर्ण क्षेत्रों में परिवर्तन देखे गए। अंग्रेज़ी प्रशासन ने न्याय, कृषि, शिक्षा और प्रशासनिक क्षेत्रों में नई प्रणालियां आरंभ की। इसमें से अधिकांश की परिणति संरचनात्मक आधुनिकीकरण में हुई। उदाहरण के लिए, उनके द्वारा प्रारंभ किए गए प्रशासन और न्यायपालिका की व्यवस्था आधुनिक तार्किक मूल्यों पर आधारित थी, जिन्होंने उन पारंपरिक भारतीय न्यायिक मूल्यों का स्थान लिया, जो अधिक्रम और आरोपण के सिद्धांत पर आधारित थे। शिक्षा और कृषि व्यवस्था में इसी प्रकार का बदलाव आया। उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी के मध्य में शिक्षा की पाश्चात्य पद्धति लागू की गई और बाद में उसका समुचित विस्तार हुआ। जमींदारी, रैयतवाड़ी और महलवाड़ी जैसी नई भूमि-प्रणालियों ने पूरे भारत में राजस्व प्रशासन को व्यवस्थित कर दिया। औद्योगीकरण, नगरीकरण, संचार और यातायात, सेना और उभरते हुए औद्योगिक कार्मिक वर्ग में भी आधुनिकीकरण की प्रवृत्तियां दृष्टिगोचर होती हैं। राष्ट्रवादी राजनीतिक नेतृत्व का उदय और विकास भी भारतीय समाज के बढ़ते आधुनिकीकरण का परिणाम था। वास्तव में बीसवीं शताब्दी के पूर्वार्द्ध में राष्ट्रवादी नेतृत्व इतना शक्तिशाली हो गया कि स्वतंत्रता आंदोलन ने स्वयं आधुनिकीकरण की एक नई संस्कृति को जन्म दिया।

ऊपर दिए गए विवरणों से स्पष्ट है कि आधुनिकीकरण के औपनिवेशिक दौर ने संरचना और संस्कृति का ऐसा संजाल बनाया जो आधुनिक था और पूरे भारत में प्रभावशाली था। फिर भी यहां यह संकेत करना आवश्यक है कि औपनिवेशिक दौर में स्थानीय, क्षेत्रीय संरचनाएं जिनमें परिवार, जाति और ग्राम शामिल हैं, आधुनिकीकरण की शक्तियों से प्रभावित नहीं हुए। इन स्तरों पर अंग्रेज़ों ने कम से कम हस्तक्षेप करने की नीति अपनाई थी। फलस्वरूप हमें परिवार,

जाति और ग्राम की संरचना में विशेष परिवर्तन दिखाई नहीं देते।

अब हम औपनिवेशिक शासन के बाद भारत में आधुनिकीकरण की प्रक्रिया का अध्ययन करेंगे। आज़ादी के बाद आधुनिकीकरण की प्रक्रिया में कुछ मूलभूत परिवर्तन हुए हैं। सामाजिक व्यवस्था का प्रत्येक क्षेत्र आधुनिकीकरण की प्रक्रिया के सक्रिय प्रभाव में है। अब आधुनिकीकरण विकास की नीति का एक अखंड भाग बन गया है।

वयस्क मताधिकार पर आधारित शासन के लोकतांत्रिक स्वरूप स्वीकार किए जाने के बाद राजनीतिक व्यवस्था ने एक नया स्वरूप ग्रहण किया है। राजनीतिक पार्टियां व्यवस्था के शक्तिशाली भाग के रूप में उभरी हैं। इस प्रकार लोकतांत्रिक, राजनीतिक संरचना ने सफलतापूर्वक जनता में राजनीतिक चेतना का संचार किया है। राजनीतिकरण की प्रक्रिया पंचायती राज की संस्थाओं से और भी अधिक गतिशील हुई है।

विवाह और संपत्ति के हस्तांतरण के मामलों में न्यायिक सुधार से परिवार के पारंपरिक ढांचे का आधार प्रभावित हुआ है। उसने परिवार में समानता के सिद्धांत को लागू किया है, जिससे महिलाओं की स्थिति सुधरी है। इसी प्रकार जाति ने नई प्रकार्यात्मक भूमिका प्राप्त की है। उसने सहभागी चरित्र ग्रहण किया है। दलितों में नई चेतना जागी है। राजनीति में जातियों की बढ़ती भागीदारी इस ओर संकेत करती है। साथ ही, भूमि-सुधारों के कारण कृषि संबंधी सामाजिक संरचना में भी संरचनात्मक सुधार हुआ है।

परंतु यहां इस ओर ध्यान आकर्षित करना उचित होगा कि भारत में आधुनिकीकरण की दिशा दूसरे स्थानों की तुलना में भिन्न रही है। इस संदर्भ में दो महत्त्वपूर्ण तथ्यों पर ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए। पहला, आधुनिकीकरण की प्रक्रिया में कई पारंपरिक संस्थाएं और गतिविधियां फिर से बहाल कर दी गई हैं। उदाहरण के तौर पर, धार्मिक उपदेशक अपने विचारों का प्रचार करने के लिए आधुनिक संचार माध्यमों का प्रयोग कर रहे हैं। अब भारत में एक टी. वी. चैनल पूरी तरह धार्मिक प्रचार के लिए समर्पित है। जातिगत संगठन अपनी स्थिति को सुदृढ़ करने के लिए संचार के नए तरीकों का प्रयोग कर रहे हैं। दूसरा, आधुनिकीकरण के ढांचों में भी विसंगतियां दृष्टिगत हो रही हैं। यद्यपि परिवार में सरंचनात्मक परिवर्तन आया है परंतु संयुक्त परिवार की प्रतिबद्धताएं और मूल्य अभी भी कायम हैं। बढ़ते जाति-संघर्ष के बावजूद लोकतांत्रिक सहभागिता बढ़ रही है।

भारत में आधुनिकीकरण ने पारंपरिक संस्थाओं को पूरी तरह नहीं त्यागा है। योगेंद्र सिंह ने अपने अध्ययन 'मॉडर्नाइज़ेशन ऑफ इंडियन ट्रेडिशन' में इस सत्य को सही ढंग से उजागर किया है। वे लिखते हैं, ''पारंपरिक संस्थाओं का स्वरूप अक्षुण्ण हो सकता है परंतु आधुनिकीकरण को समाहित करने के लिए उनमें तात्त्विक रूप से भारी बदलाव आ सकता है।'' इस अर्थ में आधुनिकीकरण की प्रक्रिया ने भारत में एक विशिष्ट रूप धारण किया है। पारंपरिक संस्थाओं ने परिवर्तन की प्रक्रिया के दौरान अनुकूलन की क्षमता को प्रदर्शित किया है।

शब्दावली

संविदात्मक संबंध : यह दो या दो से अधिक पक्षों के बीच होने वाला औपचारिक समझौता है। इसमें भाग लेने वाले पक्ष समझौते की शर्तों को तोड़े बिना अपने हिस्से में अधिक लाभ ले लेते हैं।

मौसमी प्रवसन : यह कृषि श्रमिकों द्वारा किया जाने वाला प्रवास है जिसे वे विशेष रूप से फसल के समय काम की खोज में करते हैं।

अभ्यास प्रश्न

1. संरचनात्मक परिवर्तन से आप क्या समझते हैं ?
2. स्वतंत्रता के पश्चात उद्योगों के क्षेत्र में क्या महत्वपूर्ण परिवर्तन हुए हैं?
3. औद्योगीकरण के सामाजिक एवं आर्थिक परिणामों का विश्लेषण करें।
4. नगरीकरण एवं नगरीयवाद में अंतर बताइए।
5. भारतीय समाज पर नगरीकरण के प्रभाव की चर्चा कीजिए।
6. आधुनिकीकरण क्या है ?
7. भारत में आधुनिकीकरण की प्रक्रिया का विश्लेषण कीजिए।

संदर्भ-ग्रंथ

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अध्याय 2

सांस्कृतिक परिवर्तन की प्रक्रियाएं

पिछले अध्याय में हमने परिवर्तन की संरचनात्मक प्रक्रियाओं का अध्ययन किया है। आप इस अवधारणा से परिचित हैं कि संस्कृति ऐसे प्रतीकों, विचारों तथा भौतिक उत्पादों का समुच्चय है जो एक पीढ़ी से दूसरी पीढ़ी को हस्तांतरित होती है। संस्कृति सामाजिक गतिविधियों का नियमन करती है। इस प्रकार वर्तमान संदर्भ में परिवर्तन की सांस्कृतिक प्रक्रियाएं उन विभिन्न तरीकों को दर्शाती हैं जिनके द्वारा भारतीय संस्कृति भारत में आरंभ हुए विविध परिवर्तनों को प्रभावित करती है। परिवर्तन के स्रोतों को दो मुख्य श्रेणियों में विभाजित किया जा सकता है – आंतरिक तथा बाह्य। जहां परिवर्तन के आंतरिक स्रोत समाज के भीतर से उत्पन्न होते हैं, वहीं बाह्य स्रोत किसी समाज में बाहर से आते हैं। भारत की सांस्कृतिक संरचना में परिवर्तन आंतरिक और बाह्य, दोनों प्रकार के स्रोतों से उत्पन्न हुए हैं।

आने वाले खंडों में इन सांस्कृतिक प्रक्रियाओं के महत्त्व की चर्चा चार अवधारणाओं के माध्यम से की गई है – संस्कृतिकरण, इस्लामीकरण, पश्चिमीकरण और धर्मनिरपेक्षीकरण।

संस्कृतिकरण

संस्कृतिकरण भारत में सामाजिक और सांस्कृतिक परिवर्तनों की व्याख्या करने की सर्वाधिक प्रभावशाली अवधारणा के रूप में सामने आया है। सबसे पहले एम. एन. श्रीनिवास ने मैसूर की पूर्व रियासत में कूर्गों के अपने अध्ययन के दौरान इस शब्द का प्रयोग किया था। बाद में समाजशास्त्रियों ने इस अवधारणा में संशोधन किया ताकि सांस्कृतिक गतिशीलता की प्रक्रिया को भारत की पारंपरिक सामाजिक बनावट के संदर्भ में व्याख्यायित किया जा सके।

श्रीनिवास के अनुसार, ''संस्कृतिकरण एक प्रक्रिया है जिसके तहत, एक 'निम्न' हिंदू जाति या कोई आदिवासी या अन्य समूह अपनी परंपरा, रीति-रिवाज, सिद्धांत और जीवन-शैली को एक उच्च और बहुधा 'द्विज जाति' के नियमों में परिवर्तित कर देता है। श्रीनिवास ने पाया कि निम्न जातियां, जाति अनुक्रम में अपनी स्थिति को ऊपर उठाने के लिए, ब्राह्मणों के कई तौर-तरीकों को अपनाती हैं। साथ ही, इन जातियों ने अपने उन कई रीति-रिवाजों को छोड़ दिया जिन्हें अपवित्र समझा जाता है; जैसे – मांस-भक्षण, मदिरापान और पशुबलि। उन्होंने ब्राह्मणों की जीवन-शैली को वेशभूषा, आहार और रीति-रिवाजों के संदर्भ में अपनाया। इन सभी का अनुकरण करने से यह निम्न जातियां जाति के स्थानीय अनुक्रम में ऊंचे स्थान की हकदार हो गईं। गतिशीलता की यह प्रक्रिया ब्राह्मणीकरण कहलाई। परंतु बाद में यह ज्ञात हुआ कि ब्राह्मणीकरण सामान्य प्रवृत्ति नहीं है और कई उदाहरणों में निम्न जातियों ने गैर-ब्राह्मण उच्च जातियों के तौर-तरीकों को अपनाया था। अतएव ब्राह्मणीकरण शब्द के

स्थान पर संस्कृतिकरण शब्द का प्रयोग हुआ जिसे अधिक उपयुक्त माना गया है।

संस्कृतिकरण किसी जाति की उच्च स्थिति के लिए एक आंतरिक स्रोत है। इस प्रक्रिया से उत्पन्न गतिशीलता से व्यवस्था में केवल स्थिति का बदलाव होता है। इससे संरचनात्मक परिवर्तन नहीं होता। जाति अनुक्रम के अंदर ही बदलाव आता है परंतु जाति-व्यवस्था अपने आप में नहीं बदलती।

संस्कृतिकरण हिंदू जातियों तक ही सीमित नहीं है। यह आदिवासी समूहों में भी पाया जाता है। संस्कृतिकरण के द्वारा आदिवासी समूह जाति के स्वरूप को प्राप्त करते हैं। सांस्कृतिक परिवर्तन की यह प्रक्रिया पश्चिमी भारत के भीलों और मध्य भारत के गोडों, हो तथा उरांवों में देखने को मिलती है। इस अर्थ में संस्कृतिकरण, पर-संस्कृतिकरण की सामान्य प्रक्रिया है। यह समूहों और समुदायों की ऊर्ध्वमुखी गतिशीलता का माध्यम है। यह निम्न जातियों को उच्च जातियों के रीति-रिवाजों, प्रथाओं और सिद्धांतों के अनुकरण से प्रतिष्ठा अर्जित करने के लिए प्रेरित करती है।

जैसा कि पहले कहा जा चुका है, केवल ब्राह्मणों के रिवाजों का ही अनुकरण निम्न जातियों द्वारा नहीं किया जाता। दूसरी गैर-ब्राह्मण जातियां भी जीवन-शैली के अनुकरण के लिए मानक आदर्श की भूमिका निभाती हैं। संस्कृतिकरण के इस पक्ष को 'प्रभु जाति' की अवधारणा की सहायता से व्याख्यायित किया गया है। श्रीनिवास ने इसका वर्णन इस प्रकार किया है, ''समाज में प्रमुखता प्राप्त करने के लिए किसी जाति के पास पर्याप्त मात्रा में स्थानीय कृषि योग्य भूमि, संख्या बल तथा उस क्षेत्र के सामाजिक अनुक्रम में ऊंचा स्थान होना चाहिए।'' भूमि-अधिकार, संख्या-बल तथा पारंपरिक प्रतिष्ठा के अतिरिक्त, दूसरे कारकों; जैसे – शिक्षा, प्रशासनिक पद और आय के नगरीय स्रोतों का भी ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में शक्ति और प्रतिष्ठा प्राप्त करने में योगदान रहता है। प्रभु जातियों का अस्तित्व स्थानीय होता है और वे संस्कृतिकरण करने वाली जातियों के लिए संदर्भ-भूमिका का कार्य करती हैं। तथापि स्थानीय प्रभु जातियों के माध्यम से सांस्कृतिक संप्रेषण की प्रक्रिया विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में विभिन्न रूप धारण करती हैं। यदि क्षेत्र की प्रभु जाति ब्राह्मण है तो वह संस्कृतिकरण में ब्राह्मणवादी विशिष्टताओं को संप्रेषित करेगी। परंतु यदि स्थानीय प्रभु जाति जाट है तो यह जाटवादी विशिष्टताओं को संप्रेषित करेगी। इस अर्थ में संस्कृतिकरण सांस्कृतिक परिवर्तन की अतिक्षेत्रीय प्रक्रिया है।

यहां यह स्पष्ट करना आवश्यक है कि संस्कृतिकरण का क्षेत्रीय रूप उसकी प्रभु जाति के साथ-साथ शेष भारत के रूप से पूरी तरह स्वतंत्र नहीं है। जैसा कि श्रीनिवास ने कहा है, प्रभाव के स्रोत व्यापक भारतीय परंपरा में खोजे जा सकते हैं; जैसे – 'तीर्थयात्रा, हरिकथा और धार्मिक नाटक।' श्रीनिवास ने गुजरात के पाटीदारों का उदाहरण दिया है, जिन्होंने इन स्रोतों और बल्लभाचारी व स्वामीनारायण संप्रदायों से काफी कुछ ग्रहण किया है।

तथापि संस्कृतिकरण की प्रक्रिया हमेशा स्थिर और निर्बाध नहीं होती। जब निचली जातियां प्रभु जातियों की जीवन-शैली का अनुकरण करने लगती हैं तब वह हमेशा विरोध रहित नहीं होता। रस्मों और वेशभूषा आदि में छोटे-मोटे बदलावों को अनदेखा कर दिया जाता है। परंतु जब निचली जातियां ऊंची जातियों के महत्त्वपूर्ण चिह्नों को अपनाती हैं, तब न केवल उसका विरोध होता है, बल्कि दंड भी दिया जाता है। देश के विभिन्न भागों में ऐसे कई विवादों और दंडों के उदाहरण मिले हैं। जब पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश की नमक बनाने वाली नोनिया जाति ने सामूहिक रूप से यज्ञोपवीत धारण किया, तब ऊंची जाति के

ज़मींदारों ने उन्हें 'शारीरिक यंत्रणा दी, उनका यज्ञोपवीत तोड़ दिया और पूरी जाति पर सामूहिक दंड-शुल्क लगा दिया।' इसी प्रकार उत्तरी बिहार में ऊंची जाति के भूमिहारों ने यादवों (अहीरों) को ऊंची जाति के प्रतिष्ठासूचक चिह्नों को ग्रहण करने से रोका। इस प्रकार के हिंसक संघर्ष उत्तरी भारत तक सीमित नहीं रहे। सुदूर दक्षिण के कल्लार नामक प्रधान जाति के आदि द्रविड़ों के विरुद्ध दिसंबर 1930 में आठ पाबंदियां लगाईं गईं, जिनका उल्लंघन किए जाने पर हिंसक घटनाएं हुईं। उनकी झोपड़ियां जला दी गईं, खाद्यान्नों के भंडार नष्ट कर दिए गए और पशु भी लूटे गए।

क्षेत्र विशेष की प्रभु जाति की ऐसी प्रतिक्रिया को ध्यान में रखते हुए, निचली जातियों ने अपने लक्ष्य को प्राप्त करने के लिए दूसरा उपाय अपनाया। वे उन व्यवहारों के अनुकरण से बचते रहे जो प्रभु जाति को क्षुब्ध करते। बल्कि वे इस दिशा में धैर्यपूर्वक आगे बढ़े। कुछ मामलों में संस्कृतिकरण को अपनाने वाली जातियों ने खुलेआम नियमों का उल्लंघन किया।

यद्यपि अधिकांशतः संस्कृतिकरण स्थानीय रंग लिए होता है परंतु वह भारत के प्रत्येक भाग में हुआ है। इस अर्थ में यह भारतीय इतिहास में सांस्कृतिक परिवर्तन की एक प्रमुख प्रक्रिया रही है। ऐतिहासिक साक्ष्यों से ज्ञात होता है कि विभिन्न आदिवासी समूहों को उनकी सामाजिक स्थिति के अनुसार जाति-संस्तरण में समाहित कर लिया गया। इन प्रक्रियाओं ने नई जातियों अथवा उपजातियों को भी जन्म दिया। नई जातियों अथवा उपजातियों का निर्माण वास्तव में जाति-व्यवस्था के भीतर सामाजिक गतिशीलता को दर्शाता है।

इस प्रकार ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से संस्कृतिकरण एक ऐसी प्रक्रिया है जो विभिन्न जातियों की प्रतिष्ठा में परिवर्तन लाती है। सांस्कृतिक परिवर्तन की प्रक्रिया न केवल जीवन-शैली का अनुकरण करने की अनुमति देती है, बल्कि वह नए विचारों और मूल्यों को भी सामने लाती है। मध्यकाल का भक्ति आंदोलन इस संदर्भ में एक महत्त्वपूर्ण उदाहरण है। यह पूरे भारत में होने वाला आंदोलन था, जिसमें निचली जातियों और गरीबों ने सक्रिय रूप से भाग लिया। भक्ति-संतों ने घोषणा की कि मनुष्य की प्रतिष्ठा उसके कार्यों पर निर्भर करती है न कि उसके जन्म पर। इस आंदोलन के कारण निम्न जातियों तथा अस्पृश्य जातियों में उत्पन्न हुए कई व्यक्ति धार्मिक नेता बन गए – नामदेव दर्ज़ी थे, तुकाराम दुकानदार थे, रैदास मोची थे और कबीर जुलाहा थे। इस आंदोलन ने अत्यधिक जटिल धर्माडंबर तथा जातिगत अत्याचारों को झकझोर दिया। इसने सामाजिक न्याय और समानता के मूल्यों का प्रचार-प्रसार किया।

इस्लामीकरण

यहां ध्यान देने योग्य तथ्य यह है कि सांस्कृतिक परिवर्तन की एक और प्रक्रिया भारत में कार्य करती रही है, जिसका संबंध संस्कृतिकरण की प्रक्रिया से जोड़ा गया है। समाजशास्त्रियों ने इसे इस्लामीकरण कहा है। भारत में इस्लाम का संपर्क आठवीं शताब्दी से प्रारंभ होता है। आज लगभग 14 प्रतिशत भारतवासी इस्लाम के अनुयायी हैं। इस प्रकार यह हमारे देश की एक महत्त्वपूर्ण धार्मिक परंपरा है।

इस्लामीकरण अर्थात इस्लाम के प्रचार-प्रसार की प्रक्रिया हमारी सांस्कृतिक विरासत का अभिन्न अंग है। अतः इस्लामीकरण के दो प्रमुख पक्ष हमारा ध्यान आकर्षित करते हैं। पहला, वे परिवर्तन जो मुसलमानों के जीवन में भारत में इस्लाम की परंपराओं के आंतरिक परिवर्तनों के फलस्वरूप आए हैं। दूसरे, हिंदू-धर्म और इस्लाम के बीच उसके लंबे इतिहास के दौरान हुई अंतःक्रिया जिसने एक मिली-जुली संस्कृति को जन्म दिया है।

इस संदर्भ में महत्त्वपूर्ण विकास इस्लाम की स्थापना और विस्तार के आरंभिक दौर में हुआ। मोटे तौर पर यह 1206–1818 ईस्वी के बीच का काल है। कई कारणों से यह एक महत्त्वपूर्ण काल था। जैसा कि योगेंद्र सिंह ने कहा है, ''इस काल में न केवल संघर्ष और तनाव के दौर आए बल्कि हिंदुओं और इस्लाम की परंपराओं के बीच अनकूलन और समन्वय भी स्थापित हुआ।'' इस अंत:क्रिया का स्वाभाविक परिणाम इस्लाम का हिंदू और अन्य परंपराओं के साथ अधिक स्थायी सह-अस्तित्व था।

जिस समय इस्लाम भारत में पहुंचा, उसका सामाजिक संगठन बदलने लगा था। 'समानता और भाईचारा' अभी भी उसके आदर्श थे पर मुस्लिम समाज के भीतरी सामाजिक वर्गीकरण सामने आ चुके थे। इस्लाम के आगमन के समय शासक वर्ग उच्च वर्ग से संबंधित थे। वे अशरफ कहलाते थे। इसमें चार उच्च पदस्थिति वाले समूह थे – सैय्यद, शेख, मुगल और पठान। बाद में इन समूहों के जातिगत लक्षण प्रकट होने लगे। ये राजनीतिक और सांस्कृतिक नेतृत्व के संवाहक हुए थे तथा इन्होंने इस्लाम की सांस्कृतिक परंपरा को आगे बढ़ाया।

तथापि, यह ध्यान में रखना आवश्यक है कि इस दौर में भारतीय मुस्लिम समाज में कई परिवर्तन हुए। यह परिवर्तन केवल बाहरी कारकों के माध्यम से नहीं हुए, बल्कि उन नई सामाजिक-सांस्कृतिक परिस्थितियों के कारण भी हुए जो अब इस्लाम की पहचान बन चुके थे।

इस परिप्रेक्ष्य में सबसे महत्त्वपूर्ण पहलू विभिन्न सूफी संप्रदायों का उद्भव और विकास था। सूफी अत्यंत गहराई से भक्ति करने वाले लोग थे। सूफीवाद ईश्वर तथा ब्रह्मांड की एकता की शिक्षा देता था। सूफियों ने प्रेम को ईश्वर और जीव के बीच की कड़ी मानकर उस पर अत्यधिक बल दिया। अबुल-फजल ने सोलहवीं शताब्दी में भारत में सत्रह सूफी संप्रदायों के अस्तित्व का उल्लेख किया है। सूफियों के कुछ आचार जैसे – आत्मशुद्धि, उपवास तथा प्राणायाम इत्यादि पर, बौद्ध धर्म और योग साधना का प्रभाव पाया जाता है। यह निश्चित रूप से कहना कठिन है कि बौद्ध और वेदांत के विचारों ने सूफीवाद को प्रभावित किया। यह भी कहना कठिन है कि सूफी विचार कुरान से उत्पन्न हुए। यहां इस बात पर ध्यान देना आवश्यक है कि सूफियों तथा हिंदू योगियों के विचारों में ईश्वर और जीवन के संबंध को लेकर अनेक समानताएं थीं। इसने आपसी सहिष्णुता और समझ के लिए आधारभूमि बनाई।

हालांकि मध्ययुग में भारत में कई सूफी संप्रदाय थे, परंतु केवल दो ने तेरहवीं और चौदहवीं शताब्दी में महत्त्वपूर्ण प्रभाव छोड़ा। ये थे – चिश्ती और सुहरावर्दी संप्रदाय। ख्वाजा मुइनुद्दीन चिश्ती ने भारत में चिश्ती संप्रदाय की स्थापना की। चिश्ती संतों में सबसे प्रसिद्ध थे – निज़ामुद्दीन औलिया तथा नसीरुद्दीन चिराग-ए-देहली। ये मुक्त भाव से निम्न वर्ग के व्यक्तियों, जिनमें हिंदू भी थे, से मिलते थे। ये सादा जीवन व्यतीत करते थे और लोगों से हिंदवी या हिंदी में बातचीत करते थे। उनकी लोकप्रियता में वृद्धि का एक कारण था उनकी संगीतमय अभिव्यक्ति जिसे 'सम' कहते थे और जिसमें हिंदी काव्य का प्रयोग श्रोताओं पर अधिक प्रभाव डालने के लिए किया जाता था। सुहरावर्दी संप्रदाय भारत में इसी समय आया परंतु उसकी गतिविधियां मुख्य रूप से पंजाब और आस-पास के क्षेत्रों तक ही सीमित रहीं।

इस्लाम की सूफी परंपरा के अतिरिक्त भी हिंदू परंपरा के दूसरे पक्षों का इस्लाम के साथ समन्वय कराने का प्रयास किया गया। मुस्लिम शासकों में अकबर द्वारा आरंभ किया गया 'दीन-ए-इलाही' नामक मिश्रित संप्रदाय सुप्रसिद्ध है। दारा शिकोह ने

उपनिषद् के विचारों के साथ इस्लाम के समन्वय की वकालत की। साहित्य के क्षेत्र में अमीर खुसरो ने महत्त्वपूर्ण योगदान दिया जिसके कारण उनकी लोकप्रियता आज तक कायम है। बहुत से अन्य मुस्लिम कवि और लेखक भी हमारे भारतीय साहित्यिक इतिहास का हिस्सा बन गए हैं। उदाहरण के लिए, जायसी, नलेइ, अब्दुल रहीम खान-ए-खाना, मिर्ज़ा असदुल्ला खान गालिब इत्यादि हमारी मिली-जुली संस्कृति के सच्चे प्रतिनिधि रहे हैं।

तथापि यहां यह स्मरण रखना आवश्यक है कि सांस्कृतिक सह-अस्तित्व तस्वीर का केवल एक पहलू है। इस परंपरा को मानने वाला एक बड़ा वर्ग रूढ़िवादी विचारधारा के आधार पर पलता रहा। उच्च प्रतिष्ठा वाले वर्ग मुस्लिम शासन के अंतर्गत प्रभावशाली भूमिका में रहे तथा इस्लाम के प्रचार-प्रसार में उन्होंने सक्रिय भूमिका निभाई। ब्रिटिश शासनकाल में स्थिति और बदल गई। उदारवादी परंपरा का स्थान धीरे-धीरे रूढ़िवादी विचारों और विश्वासों ने ले लिया। स्थानीय क्षेत्रीय स्तर पर जहां मुस्लिम जनसंख्या का बड़ा भाग धर्मांतरण के द्वारा हिंदू से मुसलमान बने मुसलमानों का था, वहां एक मिलती-जुलती प्रवृत्ति दृष्टिगोचर होती है। इस संदर्भ में इस्लामीकरण का अर्थ धर्मांतरित मुसलमानों में उच्च सामाजिक और सांस्कृतिक स्थिति प्राप्त करने की गतिशीलता थी। सामाजिक प्रतिष्ठा और शक्ति तथा लाभ में वृद्धि की लालसा ने निम्न जातियों को इस्लाम की ओर प्रेरित किया। हालांकि धर्मांतरण द्वारा इस्लामीकरण हमेशा लाभप्रद नहीं रहा, परंतु वह लोगों के लिए मनोवैज्ञानिक रूप से संतोष प्रदान करने वाला था। बड़े पैमाने पर धर्मांतरण से मिलनेवाली उच्च सामाजिक स्थिति को हिंदुओं अथवा मुसलमानों द्वारा स्वाभाविक स्वीकृति प्रदान नहीं की गई। इस अर्थ में इस्लामीकरण एक सांस्कृतिक परिवर्तन की प्रक्रिया के रूप में संस्कृतिकरण से साम्य रखता है।

पश्चिमीकरण

संस्कृतिकरण के साथ ही पश्चिमीकरण सांस्कृतिक परिवर्तन की दूसरी बड़ी प्रक्रिया है। संस्कृतिकरण की तरह, पश्चिमीकरण शब्द को भारतीय समाजशास्त्र में एम. एन. श्रीनिवास ने लोकप्रिय बनाया है। इसका प्रयोग समकालीन भारत में सामाजिक और सांस्कृतिक परिवर्तन के बाह्य स्रोतों का विश्लेषण करने के लिए किया गया है। श्रीनिवास ने अपनी पुस्तक 'सोशल चेंज इन मॉडर्न इंडिया' में पश्चिमीकरण की व्याख्या इन शब्दों में की है, "इस शब्द में डेढ़ सौ वर्षों से अधिक के अंग्रेज़ी शासन के फलस्वरूप भारतीय समाज और संस्कृति में आए परिवर्तन तथा विभिन्न स्तरों पर प्रौद्योगिकी, संस्थाओं, विचारधारा तथा मूल्यों में आए परिवर्तन सम्मिलित हैं।"

यहां यह ध्यान में रखना आवश्यक है कि संस्कृतिकरण तथा पश्चिमीकरण, इन दोनों अवधारणाओं का प्रयोग सामाजिक परिवर्तन के सांस्कृतिक संदर्भ की व्याख्या करने के लिए किया गया है, संरचनात्मक संदर्भ की नहीं। वे सामाजिक संरचना में आ रहे परिवर्तनों की ओर संकेत नहीं करते। दूसरे, आधुनिकीकरण के स्थान पर पश्चिमीकरण शब्द को समाजशास्त्रियों ने तरजीह दी है क्योंकि यह शब्द तटस्थ है। यह अच्छे या बुरे का संकेत नहीं देता। इस प्रकार अवधारणात्मक सीमाओं के बावजूद 'पश्चिमीकरण' शब्द भारतीय संस्कृति पर अंग्रेज़ों के प्रभाव की व्याख्या करने के लिए उपयुक्त शब्द है।

पिछले अध्याय में हमने देखा कि भारत में आधुनिक उद्योगों की स्थापना ब्रिटेन में औद्योगिक क्रांति के पश्चात हुई। पश्चिम में उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी में विज्ञान और तकनीक की उन्नति के साथ ही भारत में भी कारखानों में उत्पादन शुरू हो गया। उद्योगों के प्रसार के कारण यातायात और संचार के तीव्र साधनों की आवश्यकता सामने आई। रेल सेवा, डाक सेवा,

दूरसंचार और सड़क यातायात में वृद्धि यहीं से प्रारंभ होती है। इन सबकी स्वाभाविक परिणति कस्बों और नगरों के विकास के रूप में हुई।

अट्ठारहवीं शताब्दी के अंतिम वर्षों में कृषि-व्यवस्था में नई प्रणालियों को अपनाया गया। भूमि व्यवस्था की संशोधित प्रणाली को आरंभ किया गया। इनमें से महत्त्वपूर्ण प्रणालियां थीं – ज़मींदारी, रैयतवाड़ी और महलवाड़ी। भूमि के क्षेत्रों तथा स्वामित्व के विवरण का लेखा-जोखा रखने के लिए भू-कर मानचित्र बनाए गए। उनका प्रयोग राजस्व को निर्धारित करने और भूमि से निश्चित आय प्राप्त करने के लिए किया गया।

इसी प्रकार भारत में आधुनिक सेना, पुलिस और प्रशासनिक व्यवस्था ब्रिटिश शासन के सुदृढ़ होने के बाद आई। सुसंगठित न्यायालयों के साथ आधुनिक न्यायिक व्यवस्था के आरंभ होने से देश की न्यायिक प्रणाली में महत्त्वपूर्ण परिवर्तन आया।

देश में शिक्षा संस्थाओं की स्थापना के दूरगामी परिणाम हुए। हालांकि ब्रिटिश शासन से पहले भी हमारे यहां पारंपरिक शिक्षा प्रणाली थी परंतु वह सबके लिए सुलभ नहीं थी। शिक्षा मुट्ठी भर लोगों के लिए ही सुलभ थी, जो मुख्यत: उच्च जातियों से संबंध रखते थे। इस अर्थ में, उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी के पूर्वार्द्ध में प्रारंभ किए गए स्कूलों और कॉलेजों ने भारत में आधुनिक शिक्षा प्रणाली की नींव रखी। अंग्रेज़ अपने साथ मुद्रण यंत्र भी लाए जिससे समाचार-पत्रों, पुस्तकों और पत्रिकाओं का प्रकाशन संभव हुआ। सन 1857 में मुंबई, कोलकाता तथा चेन्नई में तीन विश्वविद्यालयों की स्थापना के साथ उच्च शिक्षा के रास्ते खुल गए।

इसके साथ ही पश्चिमीकरण द्वारा नए विचार और सिद्धांत सामने आए। श्रीनिवास के शब्दों में इन विचारों में सबसे महत्त्वपूर्ण है 'मानवतावाद'। यह सभी मनुष्यों के कल्याण की बात करता है चाहे वह किसी भी जाति, आर्थिक वर्ग, धर्म, आयु अथवा लिंग का हो। दूसरे शब्दों में, समानता, स्वतंत्रता और धर्म-निरपेक्षता की अवधारणाएं मानवतावाद की मूल अवधारणा में सम्मिलित हैं। वास्तव में पश्चिमीकरण में मानवतावाद अंतर्निहित है, जिसने उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी के पूर्वार्द्ध में कई सुधारों को संभव बनाया। अमानवीय कृत्यों जैसे – सती-प्रथा, स्त्री-शिशु हत्या तथा दास-प्रथा पर रोक प्रबुद्ध भारतीय नेतृत्व द्वारा प्रेरित सुधारों का परिणाम था।

पश्चिमीकरण का दूसरा प्रभाव व्यवसायी मध्यवर्ग तथा व्यापारी वर्ग का उदय था। प्रारंभ में यह उन इलाकों तक सीमित था जहां अंग्रेज़ों का प्रभाव अधिक था। वे उन व्यवसायों में कार्यरत थे जिसमें पारंपरिक ढंग की कार्यपद्धति से भिन्न दक्षता और प्रशिक्षण की आवश्यकता थी। इस कोटि के व्यक्ति सच्चे अर्थों में सांस्कृतिक दृष्टि से पश्चिमी रंग में रंगे हुए नहीं थे पर पश्चिमी संस्कृति से उनका संपर्क स्पष्ट था। आने वाले समय में इसी वर्ग से व्यावसायिक लोगों और शिक्षित समूहों की एक नई पीढ़ी का उदय हुआ।

यह दिलचस्प बात है कि पश्चिमीकरण ने राजनीतिक विचारों तथा सोच को भी प्रभावित किया। राष्ट्रीयता और लोकतंत्र का उदय पश्चिम में दो महान विचारों के रूप में हुआ। ये दोनों विचार विश्व के विभिन्न भागों में फैले। भारत में ये पश्चिमीकरण के माध्यम से आए। राष्ट्रीयता उस चेतना का प्रतीक है जो राष्ट्र की नींव रखती है। भारत में राष्ट्रीय चेतना उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी के उत्तरार्द्ध में आई। इससे पहले कि इस चेतना का उपयोग उपनिवेशवादी ब्रिटिश शासन से मुक्ति के लिए किया जाए, परंपरागत भारतीय समाज में सुधार लाने की आकांक्षा का उदय हुआ। सन 1828 में बंगाल में राजा राममोहन राय

द्वारा 'ब्रह्मसमाज' की स्थापना और सन 1875 में स्वामी दयानंद सरस्वती द्वारा गुजरात में 'आर्यसमाज' की स्थापना का उद्देश्य हिंदू समाज में सुधार करना था। इन सुधारवादी आंदोलनों का प्राथमिक उद्देश्य भारतीय समाज की कुरीतियों, जैसे – जाति व्यवस्था की जड़ता और महिलाओं की निम्न सामाजिक स्थिति को दूर करना था।

जैसा कि कहा जा चुका है, भारत में राष्ट्रीयता का उदय पश्चिम के संपर्क के फलस्वरूप हुआ। यूरोप के इतिहास और अंग्रेज़ी साहित्य के अध्ययन द्वारा नए शिक्षित समूहों का परिचय स्वतंत्रता तथा लोकतंत्र के आदर्शों से हुआ। भारत की राजनीतिक पहचान के प्रश्न पर ज़ोरदार वाद-विवाद हुआ जिससे धीरे-धीरे स्वतंत्रता की मांग उठने लगी। यहां भारतीय राष्ट्रवाद के विकास के लंबे इतिहास की रूपरेखा नहीं खींची जाएगी। हमारा उद्देश्य केवल यह दर्शाना है कि राष्ट्रीयता, लोकतंत्रीय राज्य व्यवस्था तथा धर्मनिरपेक्षता के आदर्श भारत में विशिष्ट ऐतिहासिक संदर्भ में आए हैं। इन व्यवस्थाओं ने भारत में सांस्कृतिक आधुनिकता की आधारशिला रखी।

धर्मनिरपेक्षीकरण

धर्मनिरपेक्षीकरण सामाजिक परिवर्तन की वह प्रक्रिया है जिसके द्वारा सार्वजनिक मामलों में धर्म का प्रभाव कम होता जाता है। धर्म का स्थान अन्य स्पष्टीकरण करने वाले तथ्यों तथा घटनाओं ने ले लिया। सामाजिक जीवन को परिचालित करने में धर्म का महत्त्व कम हो जाता है तथा उसका स्थान व्यावहारिक दृष्टि ले लेती है। यथार्थ की व्याख्या तर्क और युक्ति के आधार पर की जाती है। जब धर्मनिरपेक्षीकरण विकसित होता है तब प्राकृतिक और सामाजिक जीवन को समझने के नज़रिए के रूप में धर्म का स्थान विज्ञान ले लेता है। इस प्रकार धर्मनिरपेक्षीकरण शब्द का सांकेतिक अर्थ यह है कि वे मुद्दे जो पहले धार्मिक समझे जाते थे, अब उसी रूप में नहीं देखे जाते हैं।

यह सच है कि भारत में धर्मनिरपेक्षीकरण लगभग एक शताब्दी के पश्चिमीकरण का परिणाम है। यह प्रक्रिया अंग्रेज़ी शासन के जड़ जमाने के साथ शुरू हुई तथा यातायात और संचार के विकास के साथ इसने गति पकड़ी। हम पहले देख चुके हैं कि औद्योगीकरण और नगरीकरण ने स्थानिक गतिशीलता को बढ़ाया। लोग ग्रामीण से नगरीय इलाकों में तथा कस्बों से नगरों की ओर भारी संख्या में आए। शिक्षा के प्रचार-प्रसार ने मूल्यों की प्राथमिकता को बदला जिसने धर्मनिरपेक्षीकरण की प्रक्रिया को आगे बढ़ाया।

परंतु धर्मनिरपेक्षीकरण के क्षेत्र पर चर्चा करने से पहले यह बताना उचित होगा कि किस प्रकार संस्कृतिकरण और धर्मनिरपेक्षीकरण दोनों समकालीन भारत में साथ-साथ क्रियाशील हैं। इसके कारणों की व्याख्या करते हुए एम. एन. श्रीनिवास ने लिखा है – "दोनों में से धर्मनिरपेक्षीकरण अधिक सामान्य प्रक्रिया है जो सभी भारतीयों को प्रभावित करती है जबकि संस्कृतिकरण केवल हिंदुओं तथा आदिवासी समूहों को प्रभावित करती है। मोटे तौर पर यह कहना सत्य होगा कि धर्मनिरपेक्षीकरण नगरीय तथा शिक्षित समूहों में और संस्कृतिकरण निम्न हिंदू जातियों तथा आदिवासियों में अधिक क्रियाशील है।"

ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से भारतीय सामाजिक तथा सांस्कृतिक जीवन का धर्मनिरपेक्षीकरण सामाजिक तथा सांस्कृतिक परिदृश्य में आए परिवर्तनों के कारण अधिक तीव्र हुआ। स्वतंत्रता के लिए संघर्ष में, विशेषकर गांधी युग में, कई ऐसी ताकतों को बल मिला जिन्होंने धर्मनिरपेक्षीकरण को आगे बढ़ाया। महात्मा गांधी द्वारा प्रारंभ किए गए सविनय अवज्ञा आंदोलन ने जनशक्ति को संगठित किया। इसी प्रकार हिंदू समाज में प्रचलित अस्पृश्यता जैसी सामाजिक

कुरीतियों के विरुद्ध जनता को प्रेरित करने से धर्मनिरपेक्षीकरण को बल मिला।

सन 1947 में स्वतंत्रता मिलने और सन 1950 में गणतंत्रीय संविधान को स्वीकार किए जाने के साथ इस प्रक्रिया ने और ज़ोर पकड़ा। भारत एक धर्मनिरपेक्ष राष्ट्र के रूप में उभरा। स्वतंत्र भारत में स्वीकृत संविधान धर्म की स्वतंत्रता की गारंटी देता है। यह घोषणा करता है कि धर्म के आधार पर रोज़गार तथा शिक्षा में कोई भेदभाव नहीं होगा। वयस्क मताधिकार तथा कानून के आगे सभी नागरिकों की समानता को अपनाए जाने से भारतीय राज्य के धर्मनिरपेक्ष चरित्र को मान्यता मिली।

अब हम भारतीय सामाजिक तथा सांस्कृतिक जीवन के धर्मनिरपेक्षीकरण की प्रक्रिया पर विचार करेंगे। धर्मनिरपेक्षीकरण की प्रक्रिया ने वैयक्तिक तथा सामाजिक जीवन के हर पहलू को प्रभावित किया है। कुछ परिवर्तन स्पष्ट हैं जबकि कुछ प्रच्छन्न हैं। उसके प्रभावों को समान रूप से महसूस नहीं किया जाता। उदाहरण के तौर पर, सामान्यतः ग्रामीण जनता की तुलना में नगरीय जनता इससे अधिक प्रभावित हुई है। अशिक्षितों की तुलना में शिक्षित वर्ग के लोग गहराई तक प्रभावित हुए हैं। इसी प्रकार, देश के कुछ क्षेत्र दूसरों की तुलना में धर्मनिरपेक्षीकरण की प्रक्रिया से अधिक रू-ब-रू हुए हैं।

धर्मनिरपेक्षीकरण की प्रक्रिया से अपवित्रता तथा पवित्रता के विचार पर सबसे अधिक असर पड़ा है। आप इस तथ्य से अवगत हैं कि पवित्रता और अपवित्रता के विचार सामान्य जनमानस में तथा विशेष रूप से हिंदुओं की मानसिकता में केंद्रीय स्थान रखते हैं। पवित्रता तथा अपवित्रता की अवधारणा जाति के संस्तरण को निर्धारित करती है। यह विभिन्न जातियों के बीच की सामाजिक दूरी को परिभाषित करती है। कुछ जातियों को उच्च समझा जाता है तथा कुछ को निम्न क्योंकि कुछ जातियों को पवित्र तथा कुछ को तुलनात्मक रूप से अपवित्र समझा जाता है। यह धारणा केवल जाति के श्रेष्ठता-क्रम की संरचना में ही नहीं बल्कि भोजन, व्यवसाय, जीवन-शैली तथा दिनचर्या में भी दिखाई देती है। मांसाहार तथा मद्यपान को अपवित्र समझा जाता है, जबकि शाकाहार तथा मद्यनिषेध को पवित्र माना जाता है। इसी प्रकार का भेद व्यवसायों में भी किया जाता है। शारीरिक श्रम के व्यवसायों को निम्न समझा जाता है जबकि दूसरे व्यवसायों, जिनमें शारीरिक श्रम नहीं है, को उच्च समझा जाता है। पवित्रता तथा अपवित्रता की अवधारणा की सर्वाधिक अभिव्यक्ति जाति व्यवस्था के अंतर्गत अमानवीय अस्पृश्यता की प्रथा में मिलती है।

धर्मनिरपेक्षीकरण की प्रक्रिया ने पवित्रता तथा अपवित्रता की अवधारणा को काफी कमज़ोर किया है। लोग अब बस और ट्रेनों में सहयात्रियों की जातिगत पृष्ठभूमि को जानने का प्रयास नहीं करते। रेस्तराओं और होटलों में जाने पर वे शायद ही इसको लेकर परेशान होते हों। कार्य स्थलों पर, विशेषकर नगरीय वातावरण में, अपवित्रता के नियमों का पालन नहीं होता। जीवन पर जाति तथा धर्म के प्रभाव की तुलना में पेशे तथा व्यवसाय का अधिक प्रभाव रहता है। यहां इस तथ्य पर ज़ोर दिया गया है कि जीवन और संस्कृति पर धर्मनिरपेक्षीकरण के बढ़ते प्रभाव के कारण जाति और धर्म के रूढ़िवादी तत्त्व धीरे-धीरे अपनी प्रतिष्ठा खो रहे हैं। बढ़ते धर्मनिरपेक्षीकरण तथा गतिशीलता के कारण जाति व्यवस्था उन मूल्यों को कायम नहीं रख पा रही है जिन्हें पहले आवश्यक समझा जाता था।

यहां यह बताना महत्त्वपूर्ण है कि जहां जाति व्यवस्था से संबंधित धार्मिक मूल्य लुप्त होते जा रहे हैं, वहीं राजनीति जैसे धर्मनिरपेक्ष क्षेत्रों में उनकी भूमिका बढ़ती जा रही है। अब लोगों को राजनीतिक

कारणों से जाति के आधार पर संगठित किया जा रहा है। यह एक दिलचस्प समाजशास्त्रीय प्रश्न है जिसकी जांच आवश्यक है, परंतु यहां यह हमारे विषय से परे है।

दो अन्य क्षेत्र भी धर्मनिरपेक्षीकरण की प्रक्रिया से प्रभावित हुए हैं। वे हैं – पारिवारिक व्यवस्था तथा ग्रामीण समुदाय। जहां परिवार के क्रमिक संरचनात्मक बदलाव से अंतर्वैयक्तिक संबंधों में परिवर्तन आता है, वहीं पारिवारिक जीवन के दूसरे पक्ष भी समान रूप से प्रभावित होते हैं। परिवार में पालन की जाने वाली विभिन्न रस्मों तथा उत्सवों जैसे – विवाह की रस्में, अंतिम संस्कार की रस्में, पारिवारिक देवताओं की पूजा इत्यादि का रूप बदल रहा है। उनमें परिवार की सुविधा के अनुसार काट-छांट की जा रही है। इनमें से कुछ समारोहों का उपयोग वैभव-प्रदर्शन के अवसर के रूप में किया जाता है। विवाह के समय के ताम-झाम का धार्मिक संस्कारों से कुछ भी लेना-देना नहीं है, जिनका पहले विवाह के समय पालन किया जाता था। इसी प्रकार सामुदायिक उत्सवों ने नया अर्थ एवं रूप ग्रहण कर लिया है। पंजाब में बैसाखी को धार्मिक के बजाय सांस्कृतिक उत्सव के रूप में मनाया जाता है। विभिन्न धार्मिक समूहों के लोग उसके उल्लास में सम्मिलित होकर आनंदित होते हैं। दुर्गापूजा तथा दशहरा को नई पहचान मिली है और उसके धार्मिक संस्कार पृष्ठभूमि में चले गए हैं। सैकड़ों पंडालों को कलात्मक ढंग से सजाया जाता है जिनमें विभिन्न समसामयिक, सामाजिक और राजनीतिक मुद्दों को प्रदर्शित किया जाता है। हाल के वर्षों में रमज़ान के पवित्र महीने में इफ्तारी पार्टी का आयोजन इसी दिशा की ओर संकेत करता है।

आर्थिक, राजनीतिक तथा सांस्कृतिक क्षेत्रों में होने वाले परिवर्तनों से भी ग्रामीण समुदाय प्रभावित होता है। आर्थिक शक्तियों द्वारा किए गए आंतरिक अलगाव ने ग्रामीण जनता की सौहार्द्रपूर्ण सामुदायिक भावना को सतर्क कर दिया है। सरकार द्वारा उठाए गए विकास के विभिन्न कदमों के कारण आकांक्षाओं के स्तर में भी वृद्धि हुई है। भाग्य और दैवी इच्छा के आगे समर्पण करने की प्रवृत्ति, जो सामान्यतः निर्धन और पिछड़े वर्गों में पाई जाती थी, उसका स्थान जुझारूपन ने ले लिया है। ये धर्मनिरपेक्षीकरण की प्रक्रिया के ही परिणाम हैं।

शब्दावली

द्विज जाति : वे उच्च जातियां जो दीक्षा लेती हैं या यज्ञोपवीत धारण करती हैं, द्विज जातियां कहलाती हैं।

पर-संस्कृतिकरण : जब एक प्रभावी समूह अपनी संस्कृति का प्रभाव अधीनस्थ समूह पर इस प्रकार डालता है कि अधीनस्थ समूह का अस्तित्व प्रभावी समूह की संस्कृति में घुल-मिल जाता है तो वह प्रक्रिया पर-संस्कृतिकरण कहलाती है।

दीन-ए-इलाही : यह मुगल शासक अकबर द्वारा प्रारंभ किया गया एक धर्म था जिसमें विभिन्न धर्मों का संश्लेषण किया गया था।

रैयतवाड़ी एवं महलवाड़ी : यह भू-राजस्व की व्यवस्था थी जिसे ब्रिटिश सरकार ने चलाया था। इनके अंतर्गत किसानों को अपनी भूमि के लिए ज़मींदारों को राजस्व-कर देना पड़ता था।

अभ्यास प्रश्न

1. संस्कृतिकरण से आप क्या समझते हैं ?
2. भारतीय समाज में प्रभु जातियों का अर्थ क्या होता है ?
3. संस्कृतिकरण की प्रक्रिया की व्याख्या कीजिए।
4. भारत में इस्लामीकरण के सकारात्मक एवं नकारात्मक प्रभावों की चर्चा कीजिए।
5. भारत में पश्चिमीकरण के प्रभावों की व्याख्या कीजिए ।
6. धर्मनिरपेक्षता (पंथनिरपेक्षता) से आप क्या समझते हैं ?

संदर्भ-ग्रंथ

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अध्याय 3

राज्य और सामाजिक परिवर्तन

सामाजिक परिवर्तन में राज्य की भूमिका का विश्लेषण करने से पूर्व यह आवश्यक है कि विषय को पूरी तरह समझने के लिए राज्य की अवधारणा को स्पष्ट कर लें। पारंपरिक परिभाषा के अनुसार राज्य बाह्य नियंत्रण से मुक्त निश्चित भू-भाग में निवास करने वाले लोगों का ऐसा समुदाय है जिसकी एक संगठित सरकार हो। राज्य के मुख्य आवश्यक तत्त्व—जनसंख्या, निश्चित भू-भाग, प्रभुसत्ता और सरकार इसमें समाहित हैं। राज्य एक ऐसी सामाजिक संस्था के रूप में भी जाना जाता है जो शक्ति प्रयोग पर अधिकार रखती है। वह अपने नागरिकों पर नियंत्रण करने का अधिकार भी रखता है। दूसरी असंख्य सामाजिक संस्थाओं की तरह राज्य के निश्चित कार्य होते हैं। यह कानून व्यवस्था को नियंत्रित करता है तथा न्यायिक व्यवस्था के माध्यम से तमाम विवादों का निपटारा भी करता है। लोक-कल्याण इसके क्रिया-कलापों का दूसरा पहलू है।

परंतु यह भी ध्यान में रखना चाहिए कि राज्य और सरकार एक ही नहीं है। एक सामाजिक संस्था के रूप में विविध कार्यों के संपादन के लिए राज्य का निश्चित रूप एवं कार्य विधि होती है। उदाहरण के तौर पर, सरकार का संसदीय शासन के विविध कार्यों को करने का एक तरीका है। इस प्रकार सरकार लोगों का ऐसा समूह है जो एक निश्चित समय में राज्य में सत्ता के पदों को धारण करते हैं। इस अर्थ में सरकारें आती-जाती रहती हैं परंतु राज्य स्थिर रहता है।

सामाजिक-आर्थिक सुधारों में राज्य की भूमिका के संदर्भ में कल्याणकारी राज्य की अवधारणा बहुत महत्त्वपूर्ण है। कल्याणकारी राज्य वह व्यवस्था है जिसमें सरकार अपने नागरिकों के कल्याण की जिम्मेदारी प्राथमिक रूप से स्वीकार करती है। राज्य यह निश्चित करता है कि लोगों के पास भोजन, मकान, स्वास्थ्य सुविधाएं, शिक्षा, रोज़गार जैसी सुविधाएं पर्याप्त मात्रा में हैं। अत: राज्य की कल्याणकारी भूमिका अत्यंत महत्त्वपूर्ण हो जाती हैं। अपने सभी नागरिकों के लाभ के लिए राज्य को विविध योजनाओं एवं कार्यक्रमों को स्वीकार करना पड़ता है।

हमारा लोकतंत्र विश्व में सबसे बड़ा है। हमने आज़ादी के पश्चात गणतंत्रीय संविधान एवं संसदीय शासन प्रणाली को स्वीकार किया। हम लोगों ने अपने सभी नागरिकों के लिए न्याय, स्वतंत्रता, समानता तथा भाईचारे को प्राप्त करने का भी निश्चय किया है।

आने वाले खंडों में हम भारत में राज्य की भूमिका का निर्धारण आज़ादी के पश्चात उसके द्वारा किए गए कार्यों में आए परिवर्तनों के मूल्यांकन से करेंगे।

संवैधानिक प्रावधान

भारत एक प्रभुसत्ता संपन्न, समाजवादी, धर्मनिरपेक्ष, लोकतांत्रिक, संसदीय शासन तंत्र युक्त गणराज्य है।

यह गणराज्य संविधान द्वारा शासित है जिसे संविधान सभा द्वारा 26 नवंबर 1949 में स्वीकार किया गया तथा जो 26 जनवरी 1950 को लागू हुआ। भारत के संविधान को विश्व के सबसे बड़े लिखित संविधान होने का गौरव प्राप्त है। यह केंद्र एवं राज्य की सरकारों के सहज लोकतंत्रीय कार्य संपादन के लिए व्यवस्था को ही धारण नहीं करता बल्कि नागरिकों की स्वतंत्रता एवं समानता को भी सुरक्षित करता है। इसके अंतर्गत ऐसे प्रावधान हैं जो लोगों के सर्वांगीण विकास के लिए अवसर प्रदान करते हैं। इस अर्थ में संविधान सामाजिक परिवर्तन का एक प्रमुख माध्यम है। यहां कुछ संवैधानिक प्रावधानों के बारे में विस्तार से विवेचन किया गया है।

मौलिक अधिकार

भारतीय संविधान ने सभी नागरिकों को कुछ मूलभूत अधिकार प्रदान किए हैं। वे मौलिक अधिकार के रूप में जाने जाते हैं। वे मूलभूत इसलिए हैं कि वे सभ्य मानव के अस्तित्व के लिए आवश्यक हैं। हमारे संविधान के संदर्भ में वे मौलिक अधिकार इसलिए कहे जाते हैं कि वे लिखित संविधान द्वारा सुरक्षित हैं तथा संवैधानिक संशोधन के बिना उसमें बदलाव नहीं किया जा सकता।

मौलिक अधिकारों की 6 श्रेणियां होती हैं। संविधान के तीसरे भाग के अनुच्छेद 12 से 35 में इनका उल्लेख किया गया है। ये हैं –

1. **समता का अधिकार** : इन प्रावधानों के अंतर्गत न्याय के समक्ष राज्य किसी व्यक्ति के साथ भेदभाव नहीं करेगा। यह राज्य को धर्म, जाति, नस्ल, लिंग या जन्म स्थान के आधार पर भेदभाव करने से भी रोकता है। यह रोजगार के अवसर प्रदान करने में समानता का निर्वाह करता है। 17 वें अनुच्छेद में किसी भी तरह से छुआछूत पर रोक लगाई गई है।

2. **स्वतंत्रता का अधिकार** : इस अधिकार के अंतर्गत निम्नलिखित अधिकार आते हैं – (क) बोलने एवं अभिव्यक्ति का अधिकार, (ख) बिना हथियार शांतिपूर्वक सभा करने का अधिकार, (ग) संघ एवं संस्था के संगठन का अधिकार, (घ) पूरे भारत में स्वतंत्रतापूर्वक घूमने-फिरने का अधिकार, (ङ) देश के किसी भी हिस्से में रहने एवं बसने का अधिकार और (च) किसी तरह के पेशे, व्यवसाय उद्योग या व्यापार को अपनाने का अधिकार।

3. **शोषण के विरुद्ध अधिकार** : यह सभी प्रकार की बंधुआ मजदूरी, बाल मजदूरी तथा मानव के अवैध व्यापार को रोकता है।

4. **धार्मिक स्वतंत्रता का अधिकार** : हर व्यक्ति को किसी भी धर्म को स्वीकार करने, उसके अनुसार आचरण करने तथा उसे प्रचारित करने का अधिकार है। कोई भी व्यक्ति किसी विशेष धर्म के आयोजनों के लिए कर देने को बाध्य नहीं होगा। इसके अनुसार राज्य द्वारा संचालित शिक्षण संस्थानों में धार्मिक शिक्षण के लिए किसी भी व्यक्ति को अनुमति नहीं होगी।

5. **सांस्कृतिक एवं शैक्षणिक अधिकार** : नागरिकों के हर वर्ग को अपनी विशिष्ट संस्कृति, भाषा तथा लिपि की रक्षा का अधिकार होगा। इसके अतिरिक्त धार्मिक अथवा भाषिक रूप से अल्पसंख्यकों को अपनी पसंद की शैक्षणिक संस्था को स्थापित करने तथा उसकी व्यवस्था करने का अधिकार होगा।

6. **संवैधानिक उपचारों का अधिकार** : इसके अंतर्गत सभी नागरिकों को अपने मूल अधिकारों के क्रियान्वयन के लिए न्याय पाने का अधिकार है।

राज्य के नीति-निदेशक तत्त्व

संविधान ने राज्य की नीतियों के लिए नीति-निदेशक तत्त्वों का प्रावधान किया है। मूल अधिकारों की ही

तरह, नीति-निदेशक तत्त्वों की अवधारणा हमारे स्वतंत्रता आंदोलन के केंद्र में समाहित है। स्वतंत्रता संग्राम के नेताओं ने सिर्फ राजनीतिक स्वतंत्रता के लिए ही संघर्ष नहीं किया था, बल्कि जीवन की समस्याओं से जूझ रहे लाखों लोगों के सामाजिक एवं आर्थिक उत्थान के लिए भी संघर्ष किया था। आज़ादी के पश्चात राज्यों द्वारा बनाए जाने वाली योजनाओं एवं कार्यों को दिशा-निर्देश देने के लिए संविधान में इन निदेशक तत्त्वों का समावेश किया गया है। संविधान के चौथे भाग के अनुच्छेद 36 से लेकर 51 तक में इनका वर्णन किया गया है। नीति-निदेशक तत्त्वों का महत्त्वपूर्ण पक्ष इसमें निहित है कि, "राज्य लोगों के कल्याण को बढ़ावा देने के लिए एक ऐसे सामाजिक ढांचे को प्रभावी ढंग से सुदृढ़ करेगा जिसमें सामाजिक, आर्थिक और राजनीतिक न्याय राष्ट्रीय जीवन की सभी संस्थाओं को संपोषित करेगा।" इस उद्देश्य को ध्यान में रखते हुए राज्य – (क) सभी नागरिकों के लिए आजीविका के उपयुक्त स्रोत निश्चित करेगा। (ख) लोगों के हित के लिए संपत्ति का उचित नियंत्रण एवं वितरण करेगा। (ग) समान कार्य के लिए समान वेतन सुनिश्चित करेगा। (घ) आर्थिक उन्नति के द्वारा सभी के लिए स्वास्थ्य सुविधाओं की व्यवस्था करेगा तथा (ङ) बाल-मजदूरी पर रोकथाम करेगा।

राज्य से अन्य सामाजिक, आर्थिक एवं राजनीतिक कार्यक्रम सुनिश्चित करने के लिए समुचित कदम उठाने की अपेक्षा की जाती है। कुछ अन्य कार्यक्रमों के अंतर्गत–(क) ग्राम पंचायत की व्यवस्था, (ख) काम करने एवं शिक्षा का अधिकार, (ग) नागरिकों के लिए समान आचार संहिता, (घ) मुफ्त एवं अनिवार्य शिक्षा की व्यवस्था (ङ) अनुसूचित जाति, अनुसूचित जनजाति तथा अन्य कमज़ोर वर्गों के शैक्षणिक तथा आर्थिक हितों की रक्षा और (च) न्यायपालिका तथा कार्यपालिका को अलग रखना इत्यादि कार्य आते हैं।

परंतु यहां पर यह ध्यान देना आवश्यक है कि मौलिक अधिकारों एवं राज्य के नीति निदेशक तत्त्वों में एक मूलभूत अंतर है। मौलिक अधिकारों में होने वाले किसी भी हस्तक्षेप को न्यायालय में चुनौती दी जा सकती है, परंतु नीति-निदेशक तत्त्वों के संदर्भ में ऐसा नहीं किया जा सकता। दूसरे शब्दों में, यदि किसी नागरिक के मौलिक अधिकारों में कटौती होती है तो वह न्यायालय में न्याय की मांग कर सकता है। परंतु यदि राज्य नीति-निदेशक तत्त्वों के तहत किसी योजना को कार्यान्वित नहीं करता है तो इसके क्रियान्वयन के लिए न्यायालय में नहीं जाया जा सकता। परंतु इसका यह अर्थ नहीं कि इन नीति-निदेशक तत्त्वों का कोई महत्त्व नहीं है। संविधान स्पष्टतः कहता है कि नीति-निदेशक तत्त्व "देश के शासन में आधारभूत हैं तथा यह राज्य का कर्तव्य होगा कि वह कानूनों के निर्माण में इनका ध्यान रखे।"

मौलिक कर्तव्य

भारतीय संविधान ने नागरिकों के मौलिक कर्तव्यों का भी निर्धारण किया है। सन 1976 में स्वीकृत बयालिसवें संशोधन में अनुच्छेद 51 को संविधान के अध्याय चतुर्थ क में समाहित किया गया है। इसके अनुसार भारत के प्रत्येक नागरिक का कर्तव्य होगा –

(क) संविधान का पालन करना।

(ख) राष्ट्र के स्वतंत्रता आंदोलन के पीछे विद्यमान भावनाओं का सम्मान तथा अनुसरण करना।

(ग) देश की प्रभुसत्ता और अखंडता को बनाए रखना एवं उसकी रक्षा करना।

(घ) राष्ट्र की रक्षा करना एवं राष्ट्र के लिए अपनी सेवा प्रदान करना।

(ङ) धर्म, भाषा और क्षेत्र अथवा वर्ग की विभिन्नता को भुलाकर भारत के नागरिकों के बीच सद्भाव एवं आपसी भाईचारे का विकास करना तथा महिलाओं के सम्मान को ठेस पहुंचाने वाले किसी कार्य को न करना।

(च) हमारी मिली-जुली संस्कृति की समृद्ध परंपरा को सुरक्षित रखना।

(छ) पर्यावरण की सुरक्षा करना।

(ज) वैज्ञानिक प्रकृति को विकसित करना।

(झ) सार्वजनिक संपत्ति की सुरक्षा करना, हिंसा से दूर रहना।

(ञ) निजी तथा सामूहिक कार्य-कलापों में उत्कृष्टता के लिए प्रयास करना।

अब तक हमने भारतीय संविधान के कुछ ऐसे प्रावधानों पर विचार किया जो सामाजिक परिवर्तन को प्रभावित करते हैं। संविधान में पिछड़े एवं कमज़ोर वर्गों के लोगों; जैसे – महिलाओं एवं बच्चों, अनुसूचित जाति, अनुसूचित जनजाति, अन्य पिछड़े वर्गों तथा अल्पसंख्यकों के लिए कुछ विशेष प्रावधान निहित हैं। ये विशेष प्रावधान संविधान की उपर्युक्त मूल अवधारणाओं से ही निकले हैं। अब हम संविधान के इन विशेष प्रावधानों के बारे में विश्लेपण करेंगे –

महिलाएं : भारतीय संविधान अपने चौदहवें अनुच्छेद में जहां देश की सभी महिलाओं तथा पुरुषों को राजनीतिक, आर्थिक तथा सामाजिक क्षेत्र में समान अधिकार एवं अवसर प्रदान करता है वहीं पंद्रहवें अनुच्छेद में लिंग के आधार पर व्यक्ति के साथ भेदभाव पर रोक लगाता है। अनुच्छेद 15 (3) राज्य को महिलाओं के हित के लिए अलग से नियम बनाने का अधिकार प्रदान करता है। इसी तरह से, 39 वां अनुच्छेद आजीविका के समान अवसर तथा समान काम के लिए समान वेतन देने का निर्देश राज्यों को देता है। अनुच्छेद 42 राज्यों को काम करने के योग्य उपयुक्त एवं मानवीय परिस्थितियों को सुनिश्चित करने तथा प्रसूति-सुविधाएं प्रदान करने का निर्देश भी देता है। इसी तरह, अनुच्छेद 51 क प्रत्येक नागरिक का यह कर्तव्य निर्धारित करता है कि वे किसी भी ऐसे कार्य से दूर रहें जो महिलाओं के सम्मान को ठेस पहुंचाता हो।

बच्चे : यह महसूस करते हुए कि बच्चों के पास अपनी आवाज़ उठाने का न तो कोई माध्यम है और न ही उनके पास कोई राजनीतिक शक्ति है, भारतीय संविधान ने उनके लिए कई विशेष सुरक्षा प्रावधानों की व्यवस्था की है। अनुच्छेद 15(3) राज्यों को महिलाओं की तरह, बच्चों के हित के लिए भी नियम बनाने का अधिकार देता है। अनुच्छेद 24 किसी कारखाने, खदान अथवा दूसरे खतरनाक व्यवसायों में 14 वर्ष से कम उम्र के बच्चों से कार्य करवाने का निषेध करता है और अनुच्छेद 45 चौदह वर्ष की उम्र तक के सभी बच्चों के लिए मुफ्त एवं अनिवार्य शिक्षा की व्यवस्था करता है।

अनुसूचित जाति, अनुसूचित जनजाति और अन्य पिछड़े वर्ग : हम पहले ही देख चुके हैं कि हमारे संविधान निर्माताओं में देश के सभी नागरिकों को सामाजिक, आर्थिक एवं राजनीतिक समानता प्रदान करने की आकांक्षा थी। परंतु, यह महसूस किया गया कि इस महत् उद्देश्य को तब तक प्राप्त नहीं किया जा सकता जब तक सदियों से शोषित एवं पूर्वाग्रह के शिकार वंचित लोगों के जीवन स्तर को सुधारने के लिए विशेष प्रयास नहीं किए जाते। इसलिए संविधान में उन लोगों की आर्थिक, शैक्षिक तथा सामाजिक उन्नति के लिए अलग से व्यवस्था की गई।

इस पृष्ठभूमि में संविधान के तहत पिछड़े वर्गों को दो तरह से आरक्षण उपलब्ध हैं, वे हैं – (क) लोक सभा, विधान सभा तथा पंचायती राज निकायों में स्थानों का आरक्षण (ख) सरकारी नौकरियों

में आरक्षण। जहां अनुसूचित जातियों, अनुसूचित जनजातियों के लिए लोक सभा, विधान सभा तथा पंचायती राज के निकायों में स्थान आरक्षित हैं, वहीं अन्य पिछड़े वर्गों को केवल पंचायती राज निकायों में ही आरक्षण की सुविधा मिलती है। दूसरे प्रकार के आरक्षण की सुविधाएं तीनों श्रेणी के लोगों को मिलती हैं।

इसके अतिरिक्त संविधान की छठी धारा के अनुच्छेद 244 (2) के अंतर्गत असम, मेघालय, मिज़ोरम तथा त्रिपुरा के आदिवासी क्षेत्रों के लिए विशेष प्रावधान रखे गए हैं।

अल्पसंख्यकों के लिए संवैधानिक सुरक्षा के उपाय

भारतीय संविधान के अंतर्गत धार्मिक तथा भाषाई अल्पसंख्यकों के लिए कुछ सुरक्षा सुविधाओं का प्रावधान किया गया है। संविधान के अनुच्छेद 29 और 30 अल्पसंख्यकों की सुरक्षा की बात करते हैं। यह अल्पसंख्यकों के अपनी भाषा, लिपि या संस्कृति की सुरक्षा के अधिकार को मान्यता प्रदान करते हैं। वे अपनी पसंद के शैक्षणिक संस्थानों की स्थापना तथा उसका संचालन कर सकते हैं।

अनुच्छेद 350 (क) भाषिक अल्पसंख्यकों के बच्चों को प्राथमिक स्तर पर मातृभाषा में शिक्षा प्रदान करने की सुविधा देता है। अनुच्छेद 350 (ख) भाषाई अल्पसंख्यकों के हितों की रक्षा से संबंधित मामलों की जांच पड़ताल के लिए विशेष अधिकारों की व्यवस्था करता है।

ऊपर के विवरणों से यह स्पष्ट है कि भारतीय संविधान के प्रावधान बहुत व्यापक एवं विस्तृत हैं। इसमें एक ऐसी मज़बूत लोकतंत्रीय राज्य व्यवस्था का निर्माण किया गया है जिसके तहत देश के सभी नागरिकों के लिए समानता और न्याय प्राप्त किया जा सके। इस तरह से संविधान के द्वारा प्रभावी सामाजिक परिवर्तन के नए दौर के लिए उपयुक्त वातावरण का निर्माण किया गया। इसने सिर्फ परिवर्तन के नियामक की तरह ही कार्य नहीं किया बल्कि आर्थिक एवं सामाजिक विकास को प्रोत्साहित किया और उसे आगे बढ़ाया। इसके अतिरिक्त इसने योजनाओं की नीति को भी परिभाषित एवं निर्देशित किया। बाद में इसे स्वीकार कर पूरे देश में लागू किया गया। देश के सामाजिक-आर्थिक सुधारों के लिए संशोधन की प्रक्रिया के द्वारा संविधान एक प्रेरक बल की तरह कार्य करता है। संविधान के कई संशोधन समाज के लगभग सभी क्रिया-कलापों को निर्देशित, नियंत्रित एवं नियमित करते हैं। सामाजिक परिवर्तन की प्रक्रिया जो भारतीय समाज के सामाजिक-आर्थिक रूपांतरण को आगे बढ़ाती है, इन अध्यादेशों द्वारा तीव्र हो गई। इनमें से कुछ अध्यादेशों ने भारतीय लोगों की जीवन शैली को प्रभावित किया।

योजना और सामाजिक परिवर्तन

योजनाएं समकालीन समाज में परिवर्तन का एक महत्त्वपूर्ण कारक हैं। यह कारक सामाजिक नीति में प्रत्यक्ष हस्तक्षेप करता है तथा व्यवस्था शृंखला की निरंतरता को बनाए रखता है। यह सामाजिक उद्देश्यों को प्रतिबिंबित करता है तथा अपने अनुरूप सामाजिक विकास में सहायक होता है। इस प्रकार यह योजना ऐसी सामाजिक व्यवस्था की परिकल्पना करती है जो तार्किक एवं संतुलित चिंतन पर आधारित हो। स्वभावतः इस तरह की योजना सिर्फ लोकतंत्रीय कल्याणकारी राज्य में ही संभव है।

भारत में योजना

भारत में योजनाओं की शुरुआत आज़ादी के बाद हुई। भारत सरकार ने 1950 में प्रधानमंत्री की अध्यक्षता में

देश के संसाधनों तथा आवश्यकताओं को ध्यान में रखते हुए विकास के मानचित्र को तैयार करने के लिए योजना आयोग का गठन किया। योजना आयोग ने पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं को प्रारंभ किया, जो अभी भी चल रही हैं।

भारत में लोगों के जीवन स्तर को तीव्र गति से सुधारना विकास की नीति का एक घोषित उद्देश्य था। यह उचित पारिश्रमिक पर सभी को रोज़गार देने तथा संपत्ति एवं आय से उत्पन्न असमानता को दूर करने पर विचार करती है। सभी पंचवर्षीय योजनाएं इन सभी उद्देश्यों को एक साथ प्राप्त करने की आवश्यकता पर बल देती हैं। परंतु विभिन्न पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं ने तत्कालीन परिस्थितियों को ध्यान में रखते हुए अलग-अलग प्राथमिकताओं को स्वीकार किया।

योजनाओं का एक प्रमुख उद्देश्य रहा है उच्च विकास दर को प्राप्त करना। ऐसा सोचा गया कि इस उद्देश्य को अर्थव्यवस्था के सार्वजनिक एवं निजी क्षेत्र के सम्मिलित प्रयास से प्राप्त किया जा सकता है। सार्वजनिक एवं निजी क्षेत्रों के साथ-साथ चलने के कारण भारतीय अर्थव्यवस्था की पहचान मिश्रित अर्थव्यवस्था के रूप में की जाती है।

सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र राज्य के अंतर्गत आते हैं और भारी निवेश की आवश्यकता वाले क्षेत्रों में कार्य करते हैं। ये निवेश मूलतः बुनियादी एवं बड़े उद्योगों से संबंधित हैं। दूसरी ओर, निजी क्षेत्र सिर्फ संगठित उद्योगों से ही संबंधित नहीं होते बल्कि छोटे उद्योगों जैसे – कृषि, आवास एवं निर्माण से संबंधित कार्यों से भी संबंधित होते हैं। प्रमुख बैंक, बीमा कंपनियां, इस्पात-सयंत्र और भारी इंजीनियरिंग निगम, रेल, डाक-व्यवस्था सभी सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र के उपक्रम हैं। टाटा, अंबानी, बिड़ला तथा सिंघानिया सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र के कुछ प्रमुख औद्योगिक घराने हैं।

यद्यपि आर्थिक योजना ने हाल ही में सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में बढ़ोत्तरी दर्ज की है, फिर भी इसकी प्रक्रिया काफी धीमी है। कई सार्वजनिक क्षेत्रों के उपक्रमों में सार्वजनिक हिस्सेदारी में विनिवेश की प्रक्रिया पहले ही प्रारंभ हो चुकी है। अर्थव्यवस्था में निजीकरण की मुहिम धीरे-धीरे तेज़ हो रही है तथा इस मुद्दे पर बहस ज़ोरों पर है।

पंचवर्षीय योजनाएं

हम इसकी चर्चा पहले ही कर चुके हैं कि भारत में योजनाएं पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं के तहत क्रियान्वित होती रही हैं। अब तक नौ पंचवर्षीय योजनाएं पूरी हो चुकी हैं और दसवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना (2002-2007) 2002 में प्रारंभ हुई है।

प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना (1951-1956) की शुरुआत उस समय हुई थी जब देश 1947 के विभाजन के सदमे तथा द्वितीय विश्वयुद्ध से उत्पन्न कठिनाइयों से उबर रहा था। खाद्यान्नों की अतिशय कमी के कारण देश को 1951 में विदेशों से खाद्यान्नों का आयात करना पड़ा था। इस परिस्थिति को ध्यान में रखते हुए इस योजना में ऊर्जा एवं सिंचाई के साथ कृषि क्षेत्र को सर्वोच्च प्राथमिकता दी गई। योजना के कुल बजट का लगभग 44.6 प्रतिशत धन कृषि पर खर्च किया गया। योजना के अंत में देश की राष्ट्रीय आय बढ़कर 18 प्रतिशत हो गई तथा प्रति व्यक्ति आय में 11 प्रतिशत की बढ़ोत्तरी हुई।

द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना (1956-1961) में कृषि के स्थान पर उद्योगों को प्राथमिकता दी गई। इसी योजना के दौरान आर्थिक नीति में एक नए उद्देश्य को समाहित किया गया। लोगों के बीच यह समाज के समाजवादी ढांचे के रूप में प्रचलित हुआ। इस नीति के अंतर्गत इस बात पर

ज़ोर दिया गया था कि योजनाबद्ध विकास का अधिक लाभ समाज के अपेक्षाकृत पिछड़े वर्गों को मिले। साथ ही संपत्ति एवं आय के एकत्रीकरण में क्रमशः कमी करने पर भी ध्यान दिया गया था। भारत के तत्कालीन प्रधानमंत्री एवं योजना आयोग के अध्यक्ष पंडित नेहरू ने 23 मई 1956 को लोकसभा में कहा – ''...... स्पष्ट रूप से अगर कहें ; तो जब हम साम्यवादी जीवन शैली कहते हैं तो इसका क्या आशय होता है ? हमारा आशय ऐसे समाज से होता है जहां अवसरों में समानता हो तथा हर व्यक्ति के लिए अच्छे जीवन की संभावना हो।''

तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना (1961–1966) का उद्देश्य स्व-संपोषित विकास के क्षेत्र को आगे बढ़ाना था। साथ ही साथ, इस योजना में कृषि एवं उद्योगों पर समान रूप से ध्यान दिया गया। खाद्यान्न के क्षेत्र में आत्मनिर्भरता के साथ-साथ उद्योगों तथा निर्यात के लिए कृषि उत्पादों में बढ़ोत्तरी इसका प्रमुख उद्देश्य था। मूलभूत उद्योगों; जैसे–इस्पात, रसायन ईंधन तथा ऊर्जा इत्यादि के क्षेत्र में विस्तार करना भी इसका लक्ष्य था।

लेकिन तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना के परिणाम निराश करने वाले थे। राष्ट्रीय आय में 5 प्रतिशत बढ़ोतरी के लक्ष्य के स्थान पर सिर्फ 2.6 प्रतिशत की बढ़ोतरी हुई। कृषि क्षेत्र में भी उत्पादन में गिरावट आई। इस परिस्थिति ने तब और भी गंभीर मोड़ ले लिया जब मार्च 1966 में प्रारंभ होने वाली चतुर्थ पंचवर्षीय योजना में विलंब हो गया और 1966 से 1969 की समयावधि को 'योजना अवकाश' का नाम दिया गया। परंतु इस अवधि ने उन गलतियों को सुधारने का मौका दिया जिसने पूरी योजना-प्रक्रिया को जर्जर बना दिया था।

योजना प्रक्रिया ने आर्थिक स्थिरता को ध्यान में रखते हुए पुनः अपनी शुरुआत चतुर्थ पंचवर्षीय योजना (1969-74) के माध्यम से की। इसका उद्देश्य समता के साथ सामाजिक न्याय पाना था। कृषि तथा उद्योग दोनों क्षेत्रों के विकास को योजना में समान महत्त्व दिया गया था परंतु पुनः इस लक्ष्य को प्राप्त नहीं किया जा सका। न तो इसने खाद्यान्न के मामले में आत्म-निर्भरता के लक्ष्य को प्राप्त किया और न ही उपयुक्त मात्रा में रोज़गार के अवसर ही उपलब्ध हो सके। मुद्रास्फीति की दर नियंत्रण से बाहर हो गई।

इस तरह से पंचम पंचवर्षीय योजना (1974-79) का क्रियान्वयन उस समय हुआ जब अर्थव्यवस्था मुद्रास्फीति के भारी दबाव में थी। बढ़ते मूल्य के दबाव से लोगों में बेचैनी होने लगी। इसी तरह से गरीबी-उन्मूलन तथा आत्म-निर्भरता को योजना का मुख्य लक्ष्य निश्चित किया गया था। इसका उद्देश्य बड़ी संख्या में लोगों को गरीबी रेखा से ऊपर लाना था। मुद्रास्फीति को नियंत्रण में रखना भी इसकी सर्वोच्च प्राथमिकता थी।

परंतु राजनीतिक परिवर्तन ने इस योजना को 1979 के बजाय 1978 में ही समाप्त कर दिया और छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना रोलिंग प्लान के रूप में प्रारंभ हुई। इस तरह से छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना (1980–85) को बनाते समय पिछले तीन दशकों की योजनाओं की उपलब्धियों एवं कमियों को ध्यान में रखा गया। गरीबी-उन्मूलन तो योजना का मुख्य उद्देश्य था ही, लेकिन आर्थिक विकास तथा बेरोज़गारी को दूर करने पर भी बहुत ज़ोर दिया गया था। इस योजना को पर्याप्त सफलता मिली। सरकारी आंकड़ों के अनुसार गरीबी रेखा से नीचे रहने वाले लोगों की संख्या में सन 1977–78 के 48.3 प्रतिशत की तुलना में सन 1984–85 में 36.9 प्रतिशत तक की गिरावट आई थी।

सातवीं योजना (1985–90) में खाद्यान्नों के उत्पादन में तीव्र विकास, रोज़गार के अवसरों को बढ़ाने तथा उत्पादन में वृद्धि पर अधिक ज़ोर दिया गया। बेरोज़गारी को दूर करने के लिए जवाहर रोज़गार योजना जैसे कार्यक्रमों की शुरुआत हुई। इस योजना की समयावधि में सकल घरेलू उत्पाद में

औसत 5.8 प्रतिशत की बढ़ोतरी हुई जो अनुमानतः विकास दर से 0.8 प्रतिशत अधिक थी।

केंद्र सरकार में होने वाले राजनीतिक परिवर्तनों के कारण आठवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना (1990-95) समय से आरंभ नहीं हो सकी। इसलिए यह निर्णय लिया गया कि आठवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना 1 अप्रैल, 1992 से प्रारंभ होगी और वर्ष 1990-91 एवं 1991-92 को अलग से वार्षिक योजना के रूप में माना जाएगा। इस प्रकार आठवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना (1992-97) की शुरुआत देश में होने वाले नए आर्थिक सुधारों के परिप्रेक्ष्य में हुई। योजना रोज़गार के नए अवसरों की खोज पर केंद्रित थी। छोटे उद्योगों में निवेश अधिक हुआ क्योंकि वे रोज़गार प्रदान करते थे। योजना का लक्ष्य 5.6 प्रतिशत की औसत वार्षिक विकास दर तथा लगभग 7.5 प्रतिशत की औसत औद्योगिक विकास दर को प्राप्त करना था। इस योजना की आर्थिक प्रगति उत्साहवर्धक थी तथा देश में आर्थिक विकास अधिक तेज़ गति से हुआ।

अभी हाल मे नौवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना (1997-2002) पूरी हुई है। इसकी शुरुआत भारत में आज़ादी के पचासवें वर्ष में हुई थी। नौवीं योजना के कुछ प्रमुख उद्देश्य थे- (1) उत्पादक रोज़गार में वृद्धि तथा गरीबी उन्मूलन हेतु कृषि एवं ग्रामीण विकास को प्राथमिकता देना, (2) आर्थिक विकास की दर को स्थिर मूल्यों द्वारा बढ़ाना, (3) सभी के लिए भोजन एवं पोषण सुनिश्चित करना, (4) सभी के लिए निश्चित समयावधि में पेयजल, प्राथमिक स्वास्थ्य सुविधाएं, प्राथमिक शिक्षा, मकान और संपर्क साधन जैसी मूलभूत आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति करना, (5) जनसंख्या के विकास की दर को नियंत्रित करना तथा (6) सामाजिक-आर्थिक परिवर्तन एवं विकास के लिए महिलाओं एवं सामाजिक रूप से वंचित अन्य वर्गों; जैसे – अनुसूचित जाति, अनुसूचित जनजाति, अन्य पिछड़े वर्ग तथा अल्पसंख्यकों का सशक्तीकरण करना।

नौवीं योजना की औसत विकास दर सकल घरेलू उत्पाद की 6.5 प्रतिशत वार्षिक रखी गई जबकि मूल प्रस्ताव में 7 प्रतिशत की विकास दर अनुमोदित थी। विकास-दर में कटौती नौवीं योजना के प्रारंभिक दो वर्षों में होने वाली राष्ट्रीय एवं अंतर्राष्ट्रीय आर्थिक परिस्थितियों के कारण की गई थी।

पिछले पचास वर्षों (1950-51 से 2000-2001 तक) में, जब से भारत को गणराज्य का दर्जा मिला था, राष्ट्रीय आय में 4.2 प्रतिशत औसत वार्षिक विकास की दर से 7.6 गुना की वृद्धि हुई। प्रति व्यक्ति आय 2.75 गुना बढ़कर रु. 3178 से रु. 10,654 (1993-94 के मूल्य के आधार पर) हो गई। यह 2.1 प्रतिशत की मिश्रित विकास दर दर्शाती है।

उपर्युक्त विश्लेषण से यह स्पष्ट है कि भारत में पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं ने पांच दशकों की लंबी दूरी पार की है और आज भी दिन-प्रतिदिन मज़बूत होती जा रही हैं। फिर भी इनका अनुभव अच्छा और बुरा दोनों प्रकार का रहा है। कृषि क्षेत्र में जहां इसे महत्त्वपूर्ण सफलता मिली है, रोज़गार के अवसरों को बढ़ाने में उतनी सफलता नहीं मिल सकी। प्रमुख क्षेत्रों के औद्योगिक विकास की दर जहां ठीक-ठाक रही, वहीं लघु उद्योगों को भारी झटका लगा। सामाजिक क्षेत्रों जैसे शिक्षा और स्वास्थ्य के असमान विकास को आम लोगों में भी महसूस किया जा रहा है। यद्यपि हम लोगों ने साक्षरता के क्षेत्र में बड़ी उपलब्धि प्राप्त की है, परंतु स्वास्थ्य के क्षेत्र में हम यह बात नहीं कह सकते। उदाहरण के तौर पर, महिलाओं की साक्षरता दर में विगत वर्षों में महत्त्वपूर्ण सुधार आया। यह सन 1991 में 39 प्रतिशत से बढ़कर सन 2001 में 54 प्रतिशत हो गई। परंतु आज भी भारत में 19 करोड़ 30 लाख महिलाएं निरक्षर हैं। महिलाओं को लेकर राष्ट्रीय नीति

'कल्याण' से 'विकास' और फिर उनके 'सशक्तीकरण' तक विकसित हो गई है।

महत्त्वपूर्ण उपलब्धि का एक दूसरा क्षेत्र समाज के उपेक्षित वर्गों के सशक्तीकरण तथा उन्हें सामाजिक न्याय प्रदान करने से संबंधित रहा है। आप जानते हैं कि अनुसूचित जाति, अनुसूचित जनजाति, अन्य पिछड़े वर्ग तथा अल्पसंख्यक भारत के प्रमुख पिछड़े वर्गों में हैं। इन वर्गों की पहचान लक्ष्य वर्गों के रूप में की गई है। उनके संपूर्ण विकास के लिए विशेष कार्य-योजनाएं बनाई गई हैं। उदाहरण के लिए, अनुसूचित जातियों के लिए बनाई गई विशेष योजना को इस प्रकार आरेखित किया गया कि पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं के सार्वजनिक उपक्रमों से मिलने वाले लाभ अनुसूचित जातियों के विकास के लिए प्रयुक्त हो सकें। इसी तरह से जनजातीय उप-योजना राज्य की योजनाओं के अंतर्गत आती है और आदिवासियों के कल्याण के लिए बनाई गई है। अल्पसंख्यकों के शैक्षणिक तथा आर्थिक विकास को मापने का कार्य भी शुरू किया गया है। मुसलमानों, ईसाइयों, सिक्खों, बौद्धों तथा ज़ोरास्ट्रियनों (पारसी) को राष्ट्रीय अल्पसंख्यक आयोग धारा 1992 के अंतर्गत अल्पसंख्यक के रूप में अधिसूचित किया गया है। अल्पसंख्यक समुदायों के योग्य लाभग्रहियों को वित्तीय अनुदान प्रदान करने के लिए राष्ट्रीय अल्पसंख्यक विकास एवं वित्तीय सहकारी संस्थाओं की स्थापना की गई ताकि वे अपना स्वयं का रोजगार शुरू कर सकें।

उपर्युक्त विवेचन से यह स्पष्ट है कि विभिन्न तरीकों से राज्य के हस्तक्षेप ने लोगों के जीवन में दूरगामी परिवर्तन किए। ये परिवर्तन सिर्फ उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति में ही नहीं दिखाई दे रहे हैं, बल्कि उनके सामाजिक एवं सांस्कृतिक जीवन में भी नज़र आ रहे हैं। लोकतांत्रिक राजनीतिक व्यवस्था ने एक नई सामाजिक व्यवस्था का निर्माण किया है जो प्रस्थिति में असमानता एवं भेदभावपूर्ण व्यवहार को दूर करने के लिए प्रतिबद्ध है। इस प्रकार राज्य सामाजिक परिवर्तन के एक महत्त्वपूर्ण घटक के रूप में कार्य करता है।

शब्दावली

महिला सशक्तीकरण : जब महिलाएं अपने अधिकारों के प्रति जागरूक होती हैं और उनके प्रति दृढ़ रहती हैं।

गैर-सरकारी क्षेत्र : अर्थव्यवस्था का वह भाग जिसमें उत्पादन प्रक्रियाएं गैर-सरकारी उद्यमों द्वारा चलाई जाती हैं। गैर-सरकारी उद्यम एक व्यक्ति या व्यक्तियों के समूहों द्वारा अधिकारित एवं चलाए जाते हैं।

निजी क्षेत्र : वह आर्थिक क्षेत्र जहां उत्पादन की गतिविधियां निजी उद्यमियों द्वारा चलाई जाती हैं। एक निजी उद्यम व्यक्ति या व्यवितयों के समूहों के अधिकार में होता है।

लोक क्षेत्र : इसमें केंद्रीय, राज्य एवं स्थानीय सरकारें सम्मिलित होती हैं और सभी उद्यम उनके द्वारा अधिकृत होते हैं और चलाए जाते हैं।

निजीकरण : सामान्यतः सरकारी उद्यम व्यक्ति या व्यक्तियों के समूहों को बेचे जाते हैं, अथवा चलाने के लिए दिए जाते हैं। यह प्रक्रिया निजीकरण कहलाती है।

उदारीकरण : इसमें दो चीजें शामिल की जाती हैं – (अ) निजी उद्यमियों को उन उद्यमों को चलाने की अनुमति दी जाती है जो पहले सरकार के अधिकार में थे, (ब) निजी उद्यमों के लिए बनाए गए नियमों में ढील दी जाती है। इसमें विदेशी उद्यमों को भी चलाने की अनुमति दी जाती है।

अभ्यास प्रश्न

1. कल्याणकारी राज्य क्या होता है?
2. मूलभूत अधिकारों के बारे में बताइए एवं उनकी सूची बनाइए।
3. हमारी राज्य नीति के दिशा निर्देशकों पर प्रकाश डालिए।
4. किन्हीं पांच मूलभूत कर्तव्यों की सूची बनाइए।
5. भारत में योजनाओं के महत्त्व की व्याख्या कीजिए।
6. महिलाओं एवं बच्चों के लिए क्या संवैधानिक प्रावधान हैं ?
7. भारत की नौवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना के उद्देश्य बताइए।
8. भारत में पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं की उपलब्धियों की समालोचना कीजिए।

संदर्भ-ग्रंथ

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अध्याय 4

विधान तथा लोकतांत्रिक विकेंद्रीकरण

विधि तथा विधान की व्याख्या

विधि तथा सामाजिक परिवर्तन के बीच अन्योन्याश्रित संबंध है। विधि सामाजिक परिवर्तन का कारण और परिणाम दोनों है। इस अध्याय में हम विधि को सामाजिक परिवर्तन के नियामक के रूप में देखेंगे।

व्यापक रूप में विधि के अंतर्गत समाज के लिए आवश्यक नियमों के कार्यान्वयन की पद्धतियां आती हैं। इस अर्थ में इसमें वे प्रथाएं तथा नियम आते हैं जिन पर नज़र रखना आवश्यक है तथा जो मान्यता प्राप्त सत्ता द्वारा लागू की जाती है। तथापि समाजशास्त्रीय उद्देश्य से विधि शब्द को औपचारिक रूप से पारित और अभिलेखित किए गए नियमों तक सीमित रखना उचित होगा। यद्यपि समाज में पाए जाने वाले कानूनों और नियमों के बीच कोई निश्चित विभाजक रेखा नहीं है, परंतु इनमें विभेद आवश्यक है। इस चर्चा में हम विधि का तात्पर्य वैध सत्ता द्वारा स्वीकृत कार्य नियमों के अर्थ में करेंगे।

विधि का निर्माण विधान-मंडल द्वारा किया जाता है। वे हमेशा एक निश्चित स्वरूप में लिखित तथा अभिलेखित होती हैं। न्यायालयों द्वारा उनकी व्याख्या की जाती है तथा प्रशासनिक संस्थाओं जैसे पुलिस इत्यादि के द्वारा उन्हें क्रियान्वित किया जाता है। उदाहरण के लिए, चोरी अथवा डकैती के लिए दंड की प्रकृति तथा उसे देने की प्रक्रिया इत्यादि सभी बातों का उल्लेख कानून की किताबों में है।

व्यापक रूप से यदि कहें तो कानून दो प्रकार के होते हैं–फौजदारी कानून तथा दीवानी कानून। फौजदारी कानून चोरी, हत्या, जालसाज़ी जैसे उन क्रिया-कलापों को रोकता है जो समाज के लिए विघटनकारी हैं। दूसरी ओर, दीवानी कानून व्यक्तियों के अधिकारों को, जैसे संपत्ति संबंधी विवादों के समाधान का काम करते हैं। दीवानी कानून सामाजिक जीवन की प्रकृति से संबंधित होने के कारण कई प्रकार के होते हैं। वे व्यावसायिक, संवैधानिक तथा पारिवारिक हो सकते हैं।

सभी समाजों में कानून निर्माण तंत्र जीवन के विविध क्षेत्रों से संबंधित विधानों को बनाता है। ये विधान विविध प्रकार के हो सकते हैं। उनमें से कुछ का निर्माण समाज में, कानून और व्यवस्था बनाए रखने के लिए किया जाता है। इस तरह के विधान सामाजिक स्थिरता को बनाए रखने के सामाजिक नियंत्रण तंत्र के रूप में कार्य करते हैं। इसके विपरीत कुछ विधानों का प्रयोग समाज की कुरीतियों और रूढ़िवादी विश्वासों को दूर करने के लिए किया जाता है। सामाजिक विधान शब्द का प्रयोग इन विधानों को व्यक्त करने के लिए किया जाता है। सामाजिक विधान समाज में महत्त्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाते हैं। इसलिए विधान सामाजिक परिवर्तन के महत्त्वपूर्ण उपकरण हैं।

विधि और सामाजिक परिवर्तन

इतिहास ऐसे उदाहरणों से भरा पड़ा है जहां समाज में परिवर्तन के लिए कानूनों का इस्तेमाल किया गया। इच्छित उद्देश्यों की प्राप्ति के लिए कानूनों का निर्माण किया गया। यह सिर्फ परिवर्तन की बात ही नहीं करता बल्कि प्रमुख सामाजिक परिवर्तनों के लिए पृष्ठभूमि का निर्माण भी करता है। वास्तव में कानून के द्वारा प्रयासपूर्वक सामाजिक परिवर्तन आज के समाज की सामान्य प्रवृत्ति है। यह पद्धति आज लगभग सभी विकसित और विकासशील समाजों में देखी जाती है। पश्चिमी पूंजीवादी समाज में होने वाले परिवर्तन और सोवियत संघ जैसे समाजों का उदय कानूनों के माध्यम से ही हुआ है। उदाहरण के तौर पर, सोवियत संघ और दूसरे कई पूर्व यूरोपीय देशों में कानूनों के माध्यम से ही सफलतापूर्वक संपूर्ण परिवर्तन हुए । आय का पुनर्वितरण, उद्योगों का राष्ट्रीयकरण, भूमि-सुधार और मुफ्त शिक्षा के प्रावधान परिवर्तन को प्रारंभ करने में कानून के प्रभावशाली होने के उदाहरण हैं।

सामाजिक परिवर्तन में कानून के प्रत्यक्ष और अप्रत्यक्ष पहलुओं में भेद किया गया है। कई मामलों में कानून सामाजिक संस्थाओं से प्रत्यक्ष अंत:क्रिया करता है और स्पष्ट परिवर्तन लाता है। उदाहरण के तौर पर, बहुविवाह पर रोक लगाने वाला कानून सामाजिक परिवर्तन को प्रत्यक्ष रूप से प्रभावित करता है। यह व्यक्तियों के व्यवहार के तरीकों में बदलाव लाता है। दूसरी ओर, विभिन्न सामाजिक संस्थाओं के गठन में कानून अप्रत्यक्ष भूमिका अदा करता है जो समाज पर प्रत्यक्ष प्रभाव डालते हैं। इस संदर्भ में सबसे उपयुक्त उदाहरण अनिवार्य शिक्षा का है जो शैक्षणिक संस्थाओं के कार्यों को प्रोत्साहित करती है और इसके द्वारा सामाजिक परिवर्तन में सीधी भूमिका अदा करती है। परंतु इस तरह का विभेद पूर्ण नहीं बल्कि सापेक्षिक है। कभी-कभी प्रत्यक्ष सामाजिक परिवर्तन पर अधिक ज़ोर होता है और अप्रत्यक्ष पर कम और कभी-कभी इसके विपरीत भी होता है।

सामाजिक परिवर्तन में कानून की भूमिका जांचने के दूसरे उपाय भी हैं। कानून प्रतिमानों की स्थिति को पुनर्परिभाषित करता है और सामाजिक संस्थाओं के नए रूपों की संभावना को जन्म देता है। यह लोगों को औपचारिक सुविधाएं उपलब्ध कराता है और विस्तृत अधिकार प्रदान करता है। उदाहरण के तौर पर, भारत में कानून, छुआछूत के अमानवीय व्यवहार का न सिर्फ निषेध करता है बल्कि उनसे प्रभावित होने वाले लोगों को इसके विरुद्ध औपचारिक अधिकार भी देता है। इस अर्थ में कानून कुछ प्रथाओं और नैतिकताओं को न सिर्फ संहिताबद्ध करता है, बल्कि समाज विशेष में प्रचलित व्यवहारों एवं मूल्यों में परिवर्तन भी करता है। इस तरह कानून दो अंत:संबंधित प्रक्रियाओं में क्रमबद्धता लाता है- संस्थायीकरण तथा व्यवहार की पद्धतियों का आभ्यंतरीकरण। व्यवहार की पद्धतियों के संस्थायीकरण का आशय है कार्यान्वयन के लिए प्रावधानों के साथ मानदंडों का निर्माण। दूसरी ओर व्यवहार की पद्धतियों के आभ्यंतरीकरण की स्वीकृति से आशय कानून में निहित मूल्यों की स्वीकृति तथा व्यवहार में उसका प्रयोग है। जब संस्थायीकरण की प्रक्रिया सफल होती है तब यह विश्वासों एवं प्रवृत्तियों की स्वीकृति को संभव बनाती है।

भारत में कानून व्यवस्था

ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से प्राचीन भारत में समानता के सिद्धांत पर आधारित कोई सार्वजनिक न्यायिक व्यवस्था नहीं थी। प्राचीन भारत में कानून और धर्म के बीच गहरा संबंध था। कानून के नियम धर्म के नियमों से भिन्न नहीं थे। यह कहा जाता था कि सभी कानून धर्मशास्त्रों में निहित हैं। न्यायिक व्यवस्था जातियों

और वर्गों की सामाजिक स्थिति पर आधारित थी। लोगों को न्याय देने के लिए किसी एक समान कानून का प्रयोग नहीं होता था। अखिल भारतीय स्तर पर भी एक समान कानूनी मानदंड नहीं थे। स्थानीय प्रथाएं तथा क्षेत्रीय रिवाज ही इन नियमों को निर्धारित एवं परिभाषित करते थे। प्राचीन कानूनी व्यवस्था की एक और विशेषता. इसकी 'समूह केंद्रीयता' थी। कानूनी नियम व्यक्ति की बजाय एक इकाई के रूप में समाज पर ज्यादा लागू किए जाते थे। कानूनी व्यवस्था का यह चरित्र मध्यकाल के दौरान भी प्रचलित था।

देश की कानूनी एवं न्यायिक व्यवस्था में आमूल परिवर्तन अंग्रेज़ी शासन काल के दौरान ही आए। अंग्रेज़ों ने पारंपरिक कानूनी व्यवस्था में तमाम परिवर्तन किए। नई कानूनी व्यवस्था सार्वजनिकता के सिद्धांत पर आधारित थी। कानून के सामने समानता के विचार को प्रश्रय मिला तथा इसे कानूनी स्वीकृति भी प्राप्त हुई। विभिन्न स्तरों पर न्यायालयों की स्थापना हुई। भारतीय दंड संहिता एवं सिविल दंड प्रक्रिया के निर्माण ने एक मज़बूत न्यायिक व्यवस्था को जन्म दिया। यह कानून व्यवस्था सिर्फ आपराधिक न्याय तक ही सीमित नहीं थी। इसने लोगों के घरेलू एवं व्यक्तिगत जीवन को भी अपनी सीमा में समेट लिया। कई सामाजिक कानून प्रयोग में आए जो सामूहिक सौदेबाजी, सामाजिक सुरक्षा और रोज़गार अनुबंध जैसे क्षेत्रों को अपने में समाहित करते थे। प्रथागत कानूनों को तार्किक रूप देने के क्रम में कानूनों को निरंतर वर्गीकृत रूप देने की परंपरा शुरू हुई। इसने कानून और धर्म के बीच अंतराल को और बढ़ाया।

इसके अतिरिक्त पारंपरिक रूढ़िवादी सामाजिक रीति-रिवाजों के प्रभावों से संबंधित कुछ विधानों को लागू किया गया जिन्होंने उपनिवेशवादी शासनकाल में सामाजिक सुधार की दिशा में कार्य किया। उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी में भारतीय समाज अमानवीय प्रथाओं एवं रीति-रिवाजों में पूरी तरह जकड़ा हुआ था। पूरे देश में छुआछूत की प्रथा का बोलबाला था। महिलाओं की स्थिति सर्वाधिक निम्न थी। बाल विवाह, विधवा विवाह निषेध तथा सती प्रथा जैसी कुरीतियों ने औरतों को जीवनपर्यंत पीड़ा एवं अपमान सहने के लिए बाध्य किया। परंतु इन अमानवीय रीति-रिवाजों को समाज सुधारकों ने चुनौती दी और भारतीय अंग्रेज़ी सरकार ने समाज सुधार से संबंधित कई कानून बनाए। सती प्रथा (विधवा को जलाना) को 1829 में गैर-कानूनी घोषित कर दिया गया। हिंदू विधवा पुनर्विवाह की धारा 1856 ने हिंदू विधवाओं के पुनर्विवाह को कानूनी तौर पर वैध कर दिया। जब ब्रह्म समाज के सदस्यों ने बंगाल में इससे दिक्कत महसूस की तो 1872 में एक 'नेटिव विवाह अधिनियम' पास हुआ। ब्रह्म समाजियों ने घोषणा की कि वे भारत के किसी धार्मिक समुदाय के अंतर्गत नहीं आते हैं। इस प्रकार इस अधिनियम ने विवाह संबंधी ऐसे कानून के रूप में कार्य किया जिसके अंतर्गत विविध धार्मिक मतों को मानने वालों के बीच वैवाहिक संबंध स्थापित हो सकता था। विवाह से संबंधित दूसरा महत्त्वपूर्ण अधिनियम 'एज ऑफ कंसेंट एक्ट' 1891 था। इस अधिनियम के अंतर्गत बारह वर्ष से कम आयु की लड़की के विवाह का निषेध किया गया। वैवाहिक जीवन को प्रभावित करने वाले कानूनों के अतिरिक्त भूमि तथा उद्योगों से संबंधित कई कानूनों को उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी के अंत के वर्षों में बनाया गया। 'फैक्ट्री एक्ट - 1881' कारखानों में काम करने वाले मज़दूरों के कल्याण से संबंधित था। बंगाल कानूनदारी अधिनियम 1885 ने भूमि धारण के अधिकार की व्यवस्था में सुधार किया। इसी तरह से प्रेस एक्ट 1878 सामूहिक संचार माध्यम के क्षेत्र में मील के पत्थर की तरह था। इन कानूनों ने सांस्कृतिक परिवर्तन के कारणों को आगे ही नहीं बढ़ाया बल्कि कृषि प्रधान ढांचे को भी परिवर्तित कर दिया।

स्वतंत्र भारत में सामाजिक विधान

भारत में सामाजिक परिवर्तन की प्रकृति एवं विस्तार पर स्वतंत्रता के पश्चात हुए क्रांतिकारी सामाजिक विधानों का बड़ा प्रभाव पड़ा है। वे अर्थव्यवस्था, राज्यव्यवस्था, व्यापार तथा वाणिज्य से लेकर विवाह, परिवार और उत्तराधिकार तक के क्षेत्र को अपने में समाहित करते हैं। वास्तव में मानव जीवन का ऐसा कोई क्षेत्र नहीं है जो विधानों द्वारा प्रभावित न होता हो। परंतु आज़ादी के पश्चात बनाए गए विधानों की संख्या इतनी अधिक है कि उन सभी पर यहां चर्चा नहीं हो सकती। इसलिए हमने कुछ प्रमुख विधानों का चयन सामाजिक परिवर्तन में उनकी भूमिका को उभारने के लिए किया है।

सामाजिक कुरीतियों को दूर करने के लिए कानूनों को पास किया गया है। भारतीय संविधान के सत्रहवें अनुच्छेद के अंतर्गत छुआछूत पर रोक है तथा किसी भी रूप में इसका आचरण दंडनीय है। बाद में एक विस्तृत कानून 'छुआछूत (अपराध) अधिनियम', 1955 पास हुआ। इस कानून को संशोधित करके नागरिक अधिकार संरक्षण अधिनियम, 1975 के रूप में लाया गया। इस अधिनियम के अनुसार एक अछूत समझा जाने वाला व्यक्ति धार्मिक स्थलों सहित सभी सार्वजनिक स्थानों पर आ-जा सकता है। यद्यपि यह विधान छुआछूत के अमानवीय रिवाज को पूरी तरह से नहीं मिटा पाया लेकिन इसने निश्चित रूप से जाति प्रथा के पूर्वाग्रह की जड़ पर चोट की है।

इसी तरह, महिलाओं तथा बच्चों के विकास के लिए भी कई कानून बनाए गए। इन अधिनियमों ने समाज में महिलाओं एवं बच्चों की स्थिति में बहुत स्पष्ट सुधार किए। विशेष विवाह अधिनियम, 1954, हिंदू विवाह अधिनियम, 1955, हिंदू उत्तराधिकार अधिनियम, 1956, तथा दहेज विरोधी अधिनियम, 1961 ने हिंदू समाज की मूलभूत संरचना में बदलाव प्रारंभ किए। इनमें से अधिकांश विधानों को मूलभूत तथा प्रासंगिक समस्याओं के परिप्रेक्ष्य में आगे चलकर संशोधित किया गया। उदाहरण के तौर पर, किसी लड़की को वयस्क होने से पहले किए गए विवाह से इंकार करने का अधिकार देने के लिए हिंदू विवाह अधिनियम, 1955 को 1976 में संशोधित किया गया। वास्तव में पहला अधिनियम अपने आप में ही अत्यंत सशक्त था क्योंकि यह 'एक विवाह' पर ज़ोर देता था तथा हिंदुओं को तलाक का अधिकार प्रदान करता था। दहेज विरोधी अधिनियम, 1961 को भी 1984 में संशोधित किया गया, जिसके तहत महिलाओं के विरुद्ध क्रूरतापूर्ण व्यवहार को भी संज्ञेय अपराध माना गया। विधानों के द्वारा जो सामाजिक-आर्थिक परिवर्तन लाए गए थे, उसने महिलाओं की प्रस्थिति सुधारने के लिए अनुकूल परिस्थितियों का निर्माण किया।

बच्चों के अधिकारों के संरक्षण तथा सुरक्षा के लिए भी कई कानूनों को पास किया गया। उनमें से कुछ प्रमुख हैं- हिंदू एडोप्टेशन एंड मेनटिनेंस एक्ट, 1956, बाल मज़दूरी (रोक एवं व्यवस्थापन) एक्ट, 1986, विकलांग व्यक्ति (समान अवसर, अधिकारों की रक्षा तथा पूर्ण सहभागिता) एक्ट, 1996, बाल-अपराध न्याय एक्ट, 2000 इत्यादि।

जनजातियों की सामाजिक-आर्थिक स्थिति के परिवर्तन में कानून की भूमिका अत्यधिक स्पष्ट है। उत्तर-पूर्व भारत, जहां बड़ी संख्या में जनजातियां निवास करती हैं, के उदाहरण से हम इस मुद्दे पर प्रकाश डाल सकते हैं। इस क्षेत्र के जनजातीय समुदायों ने अपनी पारंपरिक अर्थव्यवस्था, सांस्कृतिक जीवन तथा राजनीतिक व्यवस्था में अत्यधिक बदलाव का अनुभव किया है। भारत के संविधान की छठी अनुसूची के अंतर्गत असम, मेघालय, त्रिपुरा तथा मिज़ोरम की जनजातियों को मिलने वाले सुरक्षात्मक उपायों ने प्रशासन एवं विकास से संबंधित तमाम

कार्यक्रम उपलब्ध कराए हैं। नागालैंड में रहने वाले नागाओं की सांस्कृतिक पहचान की सुरक्षा के लिए संविधान की अनुसूची 371 क के अंतर्गत विशेष प्रावधान बनाए गए हैं। राज्य सरकारों ने कई ऐसे विधानों को पास किया है जिससे जनजातियों की पहचान को सुरक्षित रखते हुए भी परिवर्तन को संभव बनाया जा सकता है। छठी अनुसूची के प्रावधानों के अंतर्गत बनाए गए स्वायत्तशासी 'डिस्ट्रिक्ट कौंसिलों' को जनजातियों की भूमि पर नियंत्रण रखने के लिए व्यापक अधिकार दिए गए हैं। मेघालय राज्य द्वारा पास किए गए भूमि हस्तांतरण अधिनियम, 1971 ने भूमि के हस्तांतरण को लगभग रोक ही दिया है। इसी तरह 'लुसाई हिल्स डिस्ट्रिक्ट' (चीफ के अधिकारों का अधिग्रहण) के अधिनियम, 1954 ने मिज़ो लोगों के चीफ की सदियों पुरानी व्यवस्था को खत्म कर दिया क्योंकि इसकी मांग वहां के लोगों ने स्वयं की थी। यहां हमने यह स्पष्ट करने का प्रयास किया कि भारत जैसे लोकतांत्रिक राज्य में सामाजिक परिवर्तन के लिए विधानों का प्रयोग प्रभावशाली ढंग से किया जा सकता है।

लोकतांत्रिक विकेंद्रीकरण

संस्थाओं तथा व्यक्ति के बीच शक्ति के बंटवारे का प्रश्न शासन में संलग्न लोगों के बीच महत्त्वपूर्ण बहस का मुद्दा रहा है। शक्ति के इस प्रकार के बंटवारे की आवश्यकता आधुनिक विश्व में लोकतांत्रिक शासन व्यवस्था को स्वीकृति मिलने के बाद बढ़ी है। विकेंद्रीकरण का तात्पर्य है– संस्थाओं तथा संगठनों में निर्णय करने के अधिकार में निचले वर्ग की सहभागिता। इसे लोकतांत्रिक इसलिए कहा जाता है कि इस तरह की सहभागिता लोकतंत्र और लोकतंत्रात्मकता के मूल सिद्धांतों पर आधारित है। विकेंद्रीकरण के विविध रूप होते हैं; जैसे– राजनीतिक, प्रशासनिक और आर्थिक।

ऐसे तर्क दिए जाते हैं कि विभिन्न स्तरों पर लोकतंत्रीय व्यवस्था के क्रिया-कलापों के लिए विकेंद्रीकरण अत्यावश्यक है। यह पारंपरिक रूप से कमज़ोर एवं वंचित सामाजिक वर्गों को शक्ति संपन्न बनाता है। हमारे देश जैसे आकार में बड़े एवं जटिल सामाजिक-सांस्कृतिक परिदृश्य वाले देशों के लिए विकेंद्रीकरण विशेष रूप से आवश्यक है। हमारा अपना देश इस दृष्टि से एक अच्छा उदाहरण है। भारत में धार्मिक, भाषाई, सांस्कृतिक तथा आर्थिक दृष्टि से विविधता पाई जाती है। अतः भौगोलिक तथा सामाजिक जटिलताओं के कारण योजना तथा प्रशासन के लिए विकेंद्रीकरण की अत्यधिक आवश्यकता है।

विकेंद्रीकरण की आवश्यकता भारत में लंबे समय से महसूस की जा रही है तथा इसे प्राप्त करने के लिए प्रयास भी किए जाते रहे हैं। आज़ादी के पश्चात लोकतंत्र के उद्देश्यों की प्राप्ति तथा विकास के लिए विकेंद्रीकरण विशेष रूप से आवश्यक हो गया है।

आगे आने वाले खंडों में हम लोकतांत्रिक विकेंद्रीकरण को प्राप्त करने के लिए पंचायती राज व्यवस्था का अध्ययन संरचना एवं संस्थागत योजनाओं के रूप में करेंगे।

पंचायती राज संस्था

पृष्ठभूमि

भारत में पंचायत का इतिहास सैकड़ों वर्ष पुराना है। पंचायत शब्द का प्रयोग कुछ व्यक्तियों (पंच-पांच) की एक सभा के लिए होता है जो गांव के सामूहिक मामलों पर फैसले करती है। लोग पंच में इतना विश्वास रखते हैं कि उन्हें पंच परमेश्वर कहा जाता है (ईश्वर उन पांच व्यक्तियों के माध्यम से बोलता है)। यह सामान्यतः स्वशासी संस्था है।

एक स्वशासी संस्था के रूप में भारत में पंचायत का विकास अपने लंबे इतिहास के दौरान काफी

उतार-चढ़ावों से भरा रहा है। फिर भी, राष्ट्रीय राजनीतिक परिदृश्य पर महात्मा गांधी के आगमन के साथ ही पंचायत के आदर्श पुनर्जीवित हो उठे। गांधी जी ने इस बात पर बल दिया कि ग्राम पंचायत अब एक विशेष रूप में जीवंत शक्ति की तरह बन जाएगी तथा भारत अपनी आवश्यकताओं के अनुरूप प्राय: आत्मशासी सरकार चलाएगा। फलस्वरूप एक स्थानीय शासन की व्यवस्था के रूप में पंचायत की अवधारणा भारत के स्वाधीनता आंदोलन में महत्त्वपूर्ण मुद्दा बनी रही। लेकिन जब भारत स्वतंत्र हुआ तब गांधी जी के सपनों की पंचायत भारतीय संविधान में प्रमुख स्थान नहीं प्राप्त कर सकी। इसे केवल चालीसवें अनुच्छेद में राज्य के नीति निदेशक तत्त्व के रूप में सम्मिलित किया गया। चालीसवें अनुच्छेद के अनुसार, "राज्य ग्राम पंचायतों के गठन के लिए कदम उठाएगा और उन्हें ऐसी शक्ति और अधिकार प्रदान करेगा जो उन्हें स्थानीय स्वशासन की इकाइयों के रूप में कार्य करने योग्य बनाएगी।"

यह दिलचस्प तथ्य है कि यद्यपि संविधान के नीति-निदेशक तत्त्व अपनी प्रकृति में केवल सांकेतिक हैं लेकिन पंचायती राज व्यवस्थाओं के महत्त्व को सभी राज्यों द्वारा स्वीकार किया गया। स्वतंत्रता-प्राप्ति के तत्काल बाद ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों के लिए एक महत्त्वाकांक्षी विकास योजना का आरंभ हुआ। इस योजना ने, जिसे सामुदायिक विकास योजना के नाम से जाना जाता था, ग्राम विकास की लगभग सभी गतिविधियों को शामिल किया। परंतु यह अपने लक्ष्यों की प्राप्ति पूरी तरह नहीं कर सकी। उसकी सीमित सफलता के कारणों के मूल्यांकन के लिए भारत सरकार ने एक अध्ययन दल की नियुक्ति की। इसका नेतृत्व बलवंत राय मेहता ने किया जो उस समय सांसद थे। अध्ययन दल इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचा कि सामुदायिक विकास योजना अपने उद्देश्यों की प्राप्ति में असफल रही हैं और इसका कारण कार्यक्रम में जनता की सहभागिता का अभाव है। इसे ध्यान में रखते हुए उसने विकास योजनाओं में लोगों की भागीदारी को बढ़ाने के लिए लोकतांत्रिक विकेंद्रीकरण के सिद्धांत पर आधारित कई संस्थाओं के निर्माण की संस्तुति की। देश में त्रिस्तरीय पंचायती राज संस्थाओं का गठन इन्हीं संस्तुतियों का परिणाम था। सन 1959 तक भारत के सभी राज्यों ने पंचायत अधिनियमों को पारित कर लिया था। फलत: गांव (गांव-पंचायत) प्रखंड (पंचायत समिति) और जिला (ज़िला-परिषद्) के स्तर पर पंचायतों की स्थापना हुई। 'अशोक मेहता समिति' नामक एक अन्य समिति ने भी पंचायती राज व्यवस्था का मूल्यांकन किया। इस समिति ने तृणमूल शासन के लिए द्विस्तरीय व्यवस्था का सुझाव दिया परंतु सरकार ने इसे स्वीकार नहीं किया और 'बलवंत राय मेहता समिति' के सुझाव के आधार पर त्रिस्तरीय व्यवस्था को ही अपनाया गया।

पंचायतों की यह व्यवस्था लगभग दो दशकों से अधिक समय तक चलती रही। यद्यपि विभिन्न राज्यों में इन संस्थाओं के मूल उद्देश्य समान थे परंतु इनके अधिकार, कार्य और चुनाव के तरीकों में भिन्नता थी। इन परिस्थितियों में इन संस्थाओं का प्रदर्शन हर राज्य में अलग-अलग तरह का था। कुछ राज्यों में उन्होंने विकास-कार्यों में प्रभावशाली भूमिका निभाई, परंतु कुछ राज्यों में पंचायतों ने केवल विभिन्न जाति समूहों में इन संस्थाओं में शक्ति पर अधिकार संबंधी विवादों और प्रतिस्पर्धाओं को जन्म दिया। पंचायती राज ग्रामीण समाज के कमजोर वर्गों के लोगों को लाभ प्रदान करने में असफल रहा।

साथ ही, इन संस्थाओं का संगठनात्मक आधार काफी कमज़ोर था। किसी कानूनी बंधन के अभाव में पंचायतों के नियमित चुनाव नहीं कराए जा सके। विभिन्न पंचायती निकायों को कोई वित्तीय अधिकार नहीं दिया गया। सरकारी अधिकारियों ने पंचायत-

प्रतिनिधियों पर अंकुश लगाए रखा। इस प्रकार की लालफीताशाही ने प्रतिभा का हनन किया और पंचायती राज की संस्थाओं में लोगों की रुचि को कम कर दिया। इस प्रकार पंचायती राज संस्थाओं के गतिरोध और पतन का दौर नवें दशक के पूर्वाद्र्ध तक चलता रहा। इसी समय इन्हें पुनर्जीवित करने के लिए कदम उठाए गए।

हाल में किए गए प्रयास

जैसा कि पहले कहा जा चुका है, राज्य के नीति-निदेशक तत्त्वों में एक छोटे से उल्लेख के सिवा पंचायत को कोई संवैधानिक मान्यता प्राप्त नहीं थी। परंतु 1993 में पंचायतों को संवैधानिक मान्यता प्राप्त होने के बाद स्थिति में मूलभूत परिवर्तन आया। पंचायत पर संविधान का 73 वां संशोधन अधिनियम, 1992, संसद में दिसंबर 1992 में पारित हुआ और 20 अप्रैल 1993 को इसे भारत के राष्ट्रपति की सहमति मिली। यह उस वर्ष 24 अप्रैल से प्रभावी हो गया। यह संशोधन जनता को शक्ति संपन्न करने के सिद्धांत पर आधारित है और पंचायतों को संवैधानिक गारंटी प्रदान करता है। इस अधिनियम के प्रमुख पक्ष निम्नलिखित हैं-

1. यह पंचायतों को 'स्वशासी संस्थाओं' के रूप में स्वीकार करता है।
2. यह पंचायतों को आर्थिक विकास और सामाजिक न्याय के लिए योजना बनाने हेतु शक्ति और उत्तरदायित्व प्रदान करता है।
3. यह 20 लाख से अधिक जनसंख्या वाले सभी राज्यों के मध्य (ब्लाक/तालुका) और ज़िला स्तर पर समान त्रिस्तरीय शक्ति संपन्न पंचायतों की स्थापना के लिए प्रबंध करता है।
4. यह पंचायतों के संगठन, अधिकार और कार्यों, वित्तीय व्यवस्था तथा चुनावों, एवं समाज के कमजोर वर्गों के लिए पंचायत के विभिन्न स्तरों पर स्थानों के आरक्षण के लिए दिशा-निर्देश देता है।

इन लक्षणों के साथ संविधान के 73 वें संशोधन अधिनियम को मूलभूत लोकतंत्र की दिशा में क्रांतिकारी कदम कहा गया है। इससे स्वशासन में लोगों की भागीदारी के लिए संवैधानिक गारंटी प्रदान की गई है। इस संशोधन के लिए बनाया गया नक्शा यथार्थ बन चुका है। सभी राज्यों ने संशोधन के प्रावधानों के अनुकूल निश्चित विधान पारित कर लिए हैं। इस प्रकार पंचायती राज व्यवस्था के इतिहास में पहली बार पंचायतों में एक उच्च स्तर की समानता पाई गई है।

कुछ राज्यों में जनजातीय क्षेत्रों के लिए एक अन्य अधिनियम पारित किया गया है। पंचायत (अनुसूचित क्षेत्र में विस्तार) अधिनियम, 1996 के प्रावधानों ने पंचायतों को आंध्र प्रदेश, छत्तीसगढ़, गुजरात, हिमाचल प्रदेश, झारखंड, महाराष्ट्र, मध्य प्रदेश, उड़ीसा और राजस्थान के जनजातीय क्षेत्रों तक विस्तृत कर दिया। यह 24 दिसंबर 1996 को लागू हो गया। सभी राज्यों ने 1996 के अधिनियम 40 में दिए गए प्रावधानों को प्रभावी बनाने के लिए कानून पारित किए हैं। इस पृष्ठभूमि के अंतर्गत हम पंचायती राज संस्थाओं के विविध पक्षों जैसे उसका गठन, संरचना अधिकार और कार्यों का विवेचन करेंगे।

संरचना और बनावट

पंचायतों का संगठन ग्राम, ब्लाक और ज़िला स्तर पर होता है। सामुदायिक विकास ब्लाक या तालुका के लिए मध्यवर्ती शब्द का प्रयोग होता है क्योंकि वह ग्राम और ज़िले के बीच स्थित होता है। परंतु यदि राज्य की जनसंख्या बीस लाख से कम हो तो मध्यवर्ती स्तर की पंचायतों का गठन नहीं हो सकता।

ग्राम सभा एक निकाय है जिसमें ग्राम पंचायत के क्षेत्र के अंतर्गत आने वाले गांव की मतदाता सूची में

पंजीकृत सभी लोग शामिल होते हैं। ग्राम-सभा को पंचायती राज की आत्मा कहा गया है। चूंकि ग्राम-पंचायत के सभी पंजीकृत मतदाता ग्राम-सभा में शामिल होते हैं, इसलिए यह ग्राम-पंचायत की सामान्य सभा की तरह कार्य करती है। इससे व्यवस्था में पारदर्शिता तथा उत्तरदायित्व सुनिश्चित करने के लिए लोगों को एक मंच मिलता है। सभी राज्य पंचायत अधिनियमों में ग्राम-सभा के गठन का प्रावधान है। सभा को छः महीने में कम-से-कम एक बार मिलना आवश्यक है।

पंचायत के अलग-अलग निर्वाचन-क्षेत्रों से प्रत्यक्ष चुनाव से चुने गए लोगों द्वारा पंचायत की सीट भरी जाती हैं। प्रत्येक पंचायत क्षेत्र को इस उद्देश्य से अलग-अलग निर्वाचन-क्षेत्रों में विभाजित किया जाता है।

ग्राम स्तर पर पंचायत का मुखिया संबंधित पंचायत के मतदाताओं द्वारा सामान्य तरीके से चुना जाता है। लेकिन ब्लाक स्तर अथवा ज़िला स्तर पर अध्यक्ष का चुनाव चुने हुए सदस्यों द्वारा होता है।

सीटों का आरक्षण

सभी पंचायतों में अनुसूचित जातियों तथा अनुसूचित जनजातियों के लिए उस पंचायत क्षेत्र में उनकी जनसंख्या के अनुपात में सीट आरक्षित रहती हैं। राज्य के निर्णय के आधार पर अन्य पिछड़े वर्गों के नागरिकों के लिए भी सीटों के आरक्षण का प्रावधान किया जा सकता है।

सीधे चुनाव के द्वारा भरी जाने वाली सीटों का कम-से-कम एक-तिहाई भाग महिलाओं के लिए सुरक्षित रहता है। इसमें अनुसूचित जातियों तथा अनुसूचित जनजातियों की महिलाओं के लिए आरक्षित सीट भी शामिल हैं।

विभिन्न स्तरों पर पंचायत-प्रमुख का पद भी अनुसूचित जाति, अनुसूचित जनजाति तथा महिलाओं के लिए आरक्षित रहता है। पहले दो श्रेणियों के लिए आरक्षित सीटों का निर्धारण उनकी जनसंख्या के आधार पर होता है। लेकिन महिलाओं के संदर्भ में पंचायत-प्रमुखों की आरक्षित सीटों की संख्या प्रत्येक स्तर पर कुल पदों की संख्या के एक-तिहाई से कम नहीं हो सकती।

अंत में, राज्यों को अन्य पिछड़े वर्गों के लिए किसी भी स्तर पर सीटों तथा पदों में आरक्षण के लिए प्रावधान रखने का अधिकार मिला हुआ है।

पंचायत की समयावधि

प्रत्येक पंचायत का समय इसकी पहली मीटिंग की तिथि से पांच वर्ष तक का होता है। इसकी समयावधि के पूरा होने से पहले पंचायत के गठन के लिए चुनाव होना आवश्यक है।

यद्यपि, राज्य सरकारों को पंचायतों को इसके पांच वर्ष की समयावधि से पहले भंग करने का अधिकार मिला हुआ है। परंतु ऐसी परिस्थिति में इसके भंग होने से छः महीने के भीतर ही पंचायत के गठन के लिए चुनाव होना आवश्यक है।

पंचायतों के अधिकार एवं उत्तरदायित्व

पंचायतों को स्व-शासन की संस्था के रूप में कार्य करने योग्य बनाने के लिए कई अधिकार एवं शक्तियां मिली हुई हैं। इसके लिए दो प्रमुख क्षेत्रों का निर्धारण किया गया है, वे हैं-

(क) आर्थिक विकास तथा सामाजिक न्याय के लिए योजनाओं का निर्माण, तथा

(ख) आर्थिक विकास तथा सामाजिक न्याय के लिए योजनाओं का क्रियान्वयन।

संविधान की ग्यारहवीं अनुसूची में उपर्युक्त योजनाओं से संबंधित कुछ विषयों को सूचीबद्ध किया गया है, जिसे विविध स्तरों पर पंचायतों द्वारा स्वीकार किया जा सकता है। इनमें कुछ प्रमुख हैं -

1. कृषि
2. भूमि सुधार, भूमि सुधार का क्रियान्वयन, भूमि चकबंदी
3. सीमित सिंचाई, जलाशयों का विकास
4. पशुपालन
5. मत्स्यपालन
6. सामाजिक वानकी
7. लघु उद्योग
8. खादी, ग्राम तथा कुटीर उद्योग
9. पेयजल
10. ग्रामीण आवास
11. सड़कें, पुलिया तथा पुल इत्यादि
12. ग्रामीण विद्युतीकरण
13. गरीबी उन्मूलन कार्यक्रम
14. प्राथमिक तथा माध्यमिक शिक्षा
15. सांस्कृतिक कार्यकलाप
16. स्वास्थ्य एवं स्वच्छता

अन्य प्रमुख संवैधानिक प्रावधान

उपर्युक्त प्रावधानों के अतिरिक्त पंचायती राज व्यवस्था को सुदृढ़ बनाने के लिए संविधान ने कुछ अन्य प्रावधानों का निर्माण भी किया है-

(क) पंचायतों को उपयुक्त कर तथा शुल्क लगाने तथा वसूलने के लिए अधिकृत करना।

(ख) पंचायतों की आर्थिक स्थिति की समीक्षा के लिए राज्य द्वारा वित्त आयोग का गठन करना।

(ग) प्रत्येक राज्य में राज्य चुनाव आयुक्त सहित राज्य चुनाव आयोग का गठन करना। यह पंचायत के सभी चुनावों को संचालित करेगा।

शहरी क्षेत्र में पंचायत

कुछ शहरी क्षेत्रों में पंचायत के गठन के लिए भी प्रावधान बनाए गए हैं। स्वशासन की प्रभावशाली लोकतांत्रिक इकाई के रूप में स्थानीय शहरी निकायों को समान रूपरेखा प्रदान करने के लिए संसद ने 1992 में संविधान के (74वें संशोधन) अधिनियम को पारित किया जो नगरपालिकाओं से संबंधित था। इस धारा को 20 अप्रैल 1993 को राष्ट्रपति की स्वीकृति मिली। यह अधिनियम तीन तरह की नगरपालिकाओं के गठन को स्पष्ट करता है –

(क) ग्रामीण से नगरीय क्षेत्र में संक्रमित होने वाले क्षेत्रों के लिए नगर पंचायत।

(ख) छोटे नगरीय क्षेत्र के लिए नगर परिषद्।

(ग) बड़े नगरीय क्षेत्र के लिए नगर निगम।

ग्रामीण पंचायत की तरह इस अधिनियम ने इन निकायों को प्रभावशाली तथा मजबूत बनाने के लिए प्रावधानों का निर्माण किया है। इन प्रावधानों में नगरपालिकाओं का निश्चित कार्यकाल, राज्य चुनाव आयोग की नियुक्ति, राज्य वित्त आयोग की नियुक्ति तथा महानगरीय तथा ज़िला योजना आयोग का गठन शामिल है। सभी राज्यों ने इन प्रावधानों को कार्यान्वित किया है।

अब तक के हमारे विवेचन से स्पष्ट है कि पंचायती राज व्यवस्था ने हमारे लोकतंत्रीय राजनीतिक ढांचे में महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थान हासिल किया है। लोकतांत्रिक विकेंद्रीकरण को प्राप्त करने में वे महत्त्वपूर्ण भूमिका अदा कर रही हैं। ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों के सामाजिक–आर्थिक विकास की गति में तीव्रता आई है। विकास के प्रयास में लोगों की सहभागिता का स्तर भी बढ़ा है। इस तरह से इसने हम लोगों को स्व–शासन की प्रक्रिया के दरवाज़े पर खड़ा कर दिया है।

ग्राम संबंधी निर्णय की प्रक्रिया में कमज़ोर वर्गों की सहभागिता को कानूनी तौर पर सुनिश्चित किया गया। इसने पंचायती राज के सामाजिक आधार को बढ़ावा दिया। महिलाओं की समस्याओं को उजागर करने के

लिए आरक्षण के माध्यम से उनका सशक्तीकरण किया गया। वास्तव में, आरक्षण ने पंचायतों को ग्राम समुदाय का अधिक सटीक प्रतिनिधि बना दिया है। निश्चित रूप से, आरक्षण अपने आप समानता नहीं ला देता है, लेकिन यह इन वर्गों को इसमें भाग लेने का अवसर प्रदान करता है। सामाजिक परिवर्तन की प्रक्रिया तभी संभव है, जब समाज के सभी पक्ष निर्णय-निर्धारण की भूमिका में सक्रिय रूप से सहभागी हों।

शब्दावली

दीवानी कानून - वह कानून जो दो व्यक्तियों के बीच के संबंधों का नियमन करता है।
फौजदारी कानून - वह कानून जो समाज की संरचना को भंग करने वाले कार्यों का निषेध करता है।
आई. पी. सी. - इसे इंडियन पीनल कोड कहते हैं। वह पुस्तक जो अपराध और दंड को परिभाषित करती है। यह सन 1860 से काम में लाई जा रही है और समय-समय पर इसमें संशोधन होते रहते हैं।
'किशोर' अथवा 'बच्चा' - 18 वर्ष से कम उम्र का व्यक्ति।

अभ्यास प्रश्न

1. कानून का अर्थ क्या होता है ?
2. दीवानी कानून एवं फौजदारी कानून के मध्य अंतर स्पष्ट कीजिए।
3. सामाजिक परिवर्तन लाने में सामाजिक विधान की भूमिका की व्याख्या कीजिए।
4. पंचायती राज का क्या अर्थ है?
5. संविधान के 73वें संशोधन की मुख्य विशेषताएं क्या हैं?
6. पंचायत के अंतर्गत मुख्य मुद्दों की सूची बनाइए।
7. भारत में सामाजिक परिवर्तन लाने में पंचायती राज व्यवस्था कितनी सफल रही है?

संदर्भ-ग्रंथ

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अध्याय 5

आर्थिक विकास तथा सामाजिक परिवर्तन

हम जानते हैं कि सामाजिक जगत कई पक्षों से बना है, जैसे–आर्थिक, राजनीतिक, धार्मिक, शैक्षणिक इत्यादि। इन सभी पक्षों का विश्लेषण एक-दूसरे से पृथक रूप में किया जा सकता है, परंतु वे एक-दूसरे को प्रभावित भी करते हैं। इस अर्थ में, सामाजिक परिवर्तन की व्याख्या करते समय हम सामाजिक जीवन के आर्थिक पक्ष की उपेक्षा नहीं कर सकते।

सभी व्यक्तियों की आर्थिक समस्याएं होती हैं। एक व्यक्ति के रूप में हम किस प्रकार अपना जीविकोपार्जन करते हैं, यह जीवन का सबसे महत्वपूर्ण तथ्य है। उसी प्रकार किसी समाज का सबसे मुख्य तथ्य यह है कि इसके सदस्यगण अपने भोजन का उत्पादन एवं वितरण किस प्रकार करते हैं। इस तरह, आर्थिक उत्पादन समाज का मौलिक कार्य है और यह सामाजिक संरचना के ढांचे को निर्धारित करने में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाता है।

भारत गांवों का देश है। हमारे देश में छः लाख से अधिक गांव हैं। कृषि लोगों का मुख्य आर्थिक कार्य है। अतः ग्रामीण इलाकों में भूमि उत्पादन का मुख्य साधन है। इस प्रकार हम यह कह सकते हैं कि भारत का आर्थिक विकास मूलतः कृषि विकास पर निर्भर है। इस पृष्ठभूमि में अब हम कृषि संरचना तथा सामाजिक परिवर्तन के कुछ निर्णायक पक्षों पर विचार करेंगे।

भूमि-सुधार

भारत में सामाजिक-आर्थिक विकास से संबंधित किसी भी चर्चा में कृषि संरचना एक महत्वपूर्ण पक्ष है। आर्थिक पिछड़ापन तथा ग्रामीण असंतोष जैसे सभी मुद्दे भूमि-संबंधी प्रश्नों के मौलिक स्वरूप से जुड़े हैं। भूमि लोगों का मुख्य आधार बनी हुई है। यह ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों की न केवल संरचनात्मक विशेषता है, बल्कि भूमि संबंधों में परिवर्तन सामाजिक तथा आर्थिक परिवर्तन का भी महत्वपूर्ण संकेतक है।

भूमि-सुधार की अवधारणा

'भूमि-सुधार' शब्द का प्रयोग संकीर्ण तथा व्यापक दोनों अर्थों में किया गया है। संकीर्ण और सामान्यतः स्वीकृत अर्थ में, भूमि-सुधार का अर्थ छोटे किसान तथा भूमिहीनों के लाभ के लिए जमीन के अधिकारों का पुनर्वितरण है। भूमि-सुधार की यह अवधारणा इसके सरलतम तत्व को व्यक्त करती है जो सामान्यतः सभी भूमि-सुधार नीतियों में विद्यमान हैं। दूसरी ओर, व्यापक अर्थ में भूमि व्यवस्था में संबंधित संस्थाओं और कृषि-संगठन में किसी भी प्रकार के सुधार को भूमि सुधार कहा जाता है। भूमि-सुधार की यह अवधारणा स्पष्ट करती है कि भूमि-सुधार को केवल जमीन के पुनर्वितरण तक सीमित नहीं रहना चाहिए, बल्कि कृषि की स्थिति में सुधार के लिए अन्य

उपायों को भी हाथ में लेना चाहिए। संयुक्त राष्ट्र ने भूमि-सुधार की इस धारणा को स्वीकार किया है। संयुक्त राष्ट्र की परिभाषा के अनुसार, आदर्श भूमि-सुधार कार्यक्रम ऐसा संकलित कार्यक्रम है जो कृषि संरचना के दोषों से उत्पन्न आर्थिक तथा सामाजिक विकास के अवरोधों को समाप्त करने के लिए बनाया गया है।

प्रस्तुत संदर्भ में भी भूमि-सुधारों से हमारा तात्पर्य उन कार्यक्रमों से है जो भारत में कृषि व्यवस्था के संरचनात्मक अवरोधों को समाप्त करने के लिए सरकार द्वारा हाथ में लिए गए हैं।

भूमि-सुधार के उद्देश्य

विभिन्न देशों में भूमि-सुधार के पीछे एक सी प्रेरणा विद्यमान नहीं होती, परंतु कुछ सामान्य उद्देश्य सभी जगह पाए जाते हैं।

भूमि-सुधार के पीछे सामाजिक न्याय तथा आर्थिक समानता की भावना हमेशा से रहा है। संपूर्ण आधुनिक दुनिया में समानता का विचार जनसामान्य की चेतना का अंश बन चुका है। विशेषकर परंपरागत संस्तरित समाज में समानता का विचार एक क्रांतिकारी शक्ति के रूप में उभरा है। इसके अंतर्गत भेदभाव एवं गरीबी के सबसे बुरे रूप की समाप्ति भी शामिल है। समानता तथा सामाजिक न्याय की विचारधारा भूमि-सुधार तथा निर्धनता उन्मूलन जैसे कार्यक्रमों में प्रकट की गई है।

भूमि-सुधार के पीछे राष्ट्रवाद दूसरी प्रेरणा रहा है। दुनिया के अधिकांश विकासशील देशों ने द्वितीय विश्व युद्ध के बाद ही स्वतंत्रता प्राप्त की थी। अत: राष्ट्रीय स्वाधीनता की सफलता औपनिवेशिक शासन के दिनों में निर्मित संस्थागत ढांचे की समाप्ति से जुड़ी रही है। इन ढांचों के अंतर्गत विदेशी व्यक्तियों के स्वामित्व में बड़ी भू-संपत्ति अथवा औपनिवेशिक काल में लागू की गई विभिन्न प्रकार की भूमि व्यवस्था सम्मिलित हो सकती है। भारत में ज़मींदारी उन्मूलन इसका उत्कृष्ट उदाहरण है। ज़मींदारी व्यवस्था अंग्रेज़ी शासन काल में स्थापित भूमि बंदोबस्त का एक रूप था। यह औपनिवेशिक शोषण का एक प्रतीक था। स्वाभाविक रूप से यह व्यवस्था सदैव भारतीय स्वाधीनता आंदोलन के नेताओं का मुख्य निशाना रही। अतएव, स्वतंत्रता के पश्चात ज़मींदारी उन्मूलन भूमि-सुधार कार्यक्रमों के प्राथमिक चरण का एक लक्ष्य बन गया है। हम इस विषय में आगे विस्तार से चर्चा करेंगे।

समकालीन विश्व में प्रजातंत्र का ज़ोरदार समर्थन भूमि-सुधार जैसे कार्यक्रमों के पीछे एक अन्य प्रेरणा रही है। सभी राजनीतिक ताकतों के लिए प्रजातंत्र का विचार एक प्रेरक शक्ति बन गया है। स्वाधीनता और न्याय के लक्ष्य को प्रजातांत्रिक समाज में ही प्राप्त किया जा सकता है। इस प्रकार किसी देश के निर्धन एवं वंचित नागरिक भी अपनी शिकायतों और मांगों को लोकतांत्रिक तरीकों से व्यक्त कर सकते हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में सुधार के लिए एक वातावरण बनता है।

भूमि-सुधार ज़मीन की उत्पादकता बढ़ाने का एक माध्यम माना जाता है। अत: कृषि प्रधान देशों में आर्थिक विकास के लिए इसे एक मुख्य मुद्दे के रूप में स्वीकार किया गया है। यह कृषि विकास का एक प्रमुख कार्यक्रम बन गया है। भूमि-सुधार के उपायों के प्रभावशाली कार्यान्वयन द्वारा कृषि व्यवस्था के पुनर्गठन के बुनियादी मुद्दों का समाधान होता है।

भारत में भूमि-सुधार

भारत में भूमि-सुधार दो मुख्य कारकों – राजनीति और किसानों की संगठनात्मक गतिशीलता से प्रारंभ हुआ। राजनीतिक कारक पहले ब्रिटिश शासन से और बाद में राष्ट्रवाद के विकास से जुड़ा था। इसने ऐसी स्थिति का निर्माण किया कि सरकार के लिए

भूमि-सुधार के उपायों का बीड़ा उठाना अनिवार्य हो गया। इस प्रकार कृषि संबंधी कुछ कानून उन्नीसवीं सदी के मध्य में ही बने जिन्होंने रैयतों के अधिकारों को सुरक्षित रखने की कोशिश की।

स्वाधीनता संग्राम के समय जनता की गरीबी तथा ज़मींदारों एवं सूदखोरों द्वारा किसानों के अत्यधिक शोषण ने राजनीतिक नेताओं का ध्यान अपनी ओर खींचा। भारतीय राष्ट्रीय कांग्रेस के कार्यक्रमों के लिए यह एक महत्वपूर्ण मोर्चा बन गया। जवाहरलाल नेहरू की पहल और महात्मा गांधी की स्वीकृति से कृषि सुधार का एक मुख्य कार्यक्रम सन 1936 में प्रस्तुत किया गया। कांग्रेस के फैज़पुर अधिवेशन में अपने अध्यक्षीय भाषण में नेहरू ने 'कृषक और राज्य के बीच के बिचौलियों के निष्कासन' और उसके पश्चात 'सहकारी अथवा सामूहिक खेती' की मांग उठाई।

लगभग उसी समय देश के विभिन्न भागों में बढ़ते किसान आंदोलनों ने दबाव डालना प्रारंभ कर दिया। अखिल भारतीय किसान सभा ने सन 1936 में लखनऊ की एक बैठक में ज़मींदारी उन्मूलन, रैयतों के दखल-अधिकार, भूमिहीन मज़दूरों के बीच परती ज़मीन के पुनर्वितरण आदि मांगों को उठाया। वस्तुतः सन 1920 और 1946 के बीच अनेक किसान संगठन बने जिन्होंने मध्यम एवं गरीब किसानों की शिकायतों को व्यक्त किया। स्वामी सहजानंद सरस्वती के नेतृत्व में किसान सभा आंदोलन, 1918 का खेड़ा आंदोलन, 1928 का बारदोली सत्याग्रह तथा बंगाल में 1946-47 का तिभागा आंदोलन स्वतंत्रता-पूर्व के कुछ प्रमुख किसान आंदोलन थे। कृषक असंतोष पूरे देश में फैल गया था। किसानों तथा भूमि मालिकों के बीच व्यापक संघर्ष इन शिकायतों के परिणामस्वरूप उत्पन्न हुए थे। यदि इन्हें इनके उद्देश्यों के संदर्भ में देखा जाए, तो इन किसान आंदोलनों के सकारात्मक परिणाम निकले। लंबे संघर्षों के दबाव ने सरकार को किसानों की शिकायतों के समाधान की योजना बनाने के लिए बाध्य कर दिया। इस अर्थ में, स्वतंत्रता पूर्व के किसान आंदोलनों का स्वतंत्रता के तत्काल बाद प्रारंभ हुए भूमि-सुधार कार्यक्रमों की दृष्टि से ऐतिहासिक महत्त्व है।

स्वतंत्रता के बाद भूमि-सुधार

स्वतंत्रता के तत्काल बाद अन्यायपूर्ण कृषि संरचना में परिवर्तन की राष्ट्रीय नीति के एक अंश के रूप में भूमि-सुधार पर काफ़ी जोर दिया गया। भूमि-सुधार को भूमि कानून के ज़रिए प्रारंभ करने की रणनीति अपनाई गई। मुख्य रूप से यह भारत सरकार द्वारा निर्देशित व राज्य विधायिकाओं द्वारा लागू किए गए थे।

भूमि-सुधार के प्रारंभिक उद्देश्य निम्नांकित थे–

(क) पूर्व प्राप्त कृषि संरचना से उत्पन्न मूल भाव एवं दूसरी रुकावटों का निराकरण।

(ख) कृषि व्यवस्था में व्याप्त शोषण एवं सामाजिक अन्याय के सभी तत्त्वों का निष्कासन, ताकि समाज के सभी वर्गों को प्रस्थिति एवं अवसरों की समानता मिल सके।

इन उद्देश्यों से यह स्पष्ट है कि कृषि के आधुनिकीकरण तथा कृषि अर्थव्यवस्था में व्याप्त असमानताओं को घटाने की दृष्टि से ही भूमि-सुधार कार्यक्रम प्रारंभ किए गए थे। इन उद्देश्यों को निम्नांकित कार्यक्रमों में रूपांतरित किया गया था –

(क) राज्य एवं ज़मीन जोतने वालों के बीच सभी प्रकार के मध्यस्थ वर्गों का उन्मूलन।

(ख) किसानों द्वारा खेती की जाने वाली भूमि पर उनके स्वामित्व का अधिकार प्रदान किया गया।

(ग) खेतों की जोत का सीमा निर्धारण।

(घ) कृषि में आधुनिक तकनीकों के प्रयोग को सुलभ बनाने की दृष्टि से जोतों की चकबंदी।

(ङ) भूमि संबंधी रिकार्ड को तर्क संगत बनाना।

इन कार्यक्रमों की विस्तृत जानकारी इस प्रकार है —

(क) बिचौलियों का उन्मूलन : ब्रिटिश शासकों ने ज़मीन से अधिकतम राजस्व प्राप्त करने के उद्देश्य से तीन प्रकार के भूमि बंदोबस्त आरंभ किए- ज़मींदारी, रैयतवाड़ी तथा महलवाड़ी। ज़मींदारी व्यवस्था के अंतर्गत ज़मीन की संपत्ति का अधिकार स्थानीय लगान वसूलने वालों को दिया गया। वे ज़मींदार कहलाए और ये सामान्यत: ऊंची जातियों के सदस्य थे। इस नए बंदोबस्त ने वास्तविक किसानों को रैयत बना दिया। भूमि व्यवस्था में इस संरचनात्मक परिवर्तन ने राज्य एवं ज़मीन जोतने वालों के बीच बिचौलियों को खड़ा कर दिया। रैयतवाड़ी व्यवस्था के अंतर्गत बिचौलियों को मान्यता नहीं मिली। ज़मीन जोतने वालों को अपनी ज़मीन पर हस्तांतरण का अधिकार दिया गया। किंतु इस व्यवस्था के अंतर्गत भी प्रभावशाली रैयत शक्तिशाली भू-स्वामी के रूप में उभरे। महलवाड़ी व्यवस्था में भी बिचौलियों का एक वर्ग उत्पन्न हो गया।

इन बिचौलियों (मध्यस्थ वर्ग) की भूमि प्रबंधन एवं सुधार में कोई अभिरुचि नहीं थी। इसके अतिरिक्त ज़मींदारों को एक निश्चित राजस्व की रकम सरकार को देनी होती थी, परंतु किसानों से वसूली की कोई सीमा नहीं थी। समय-समय पर अनगिनत गैर-कानूनी उपकर थोप दिए जाते थे। ज़मींदारी व्यवस्था के अंतर्गत अन्यत्रवासिता (एबसेंटिज़्म) अत्यंत सामान्य बात थी। अतएव व्यवस्था न केवल अन्यायी थी, बल्कि इसमें आर्थिक शोषण तथा सामाजिक उत्पीड़न का तीक्ष्ण रूप विद्यमान था।

इस पृष्ठभूमि में स्वतंत्रता के प्रारंभिक वर्षों में बिचौलियों का उन्मूलन भूमि-सुधार का पहला लक्ष्य बना। इस कार्यक्रम के द्वारा देश के सभी क्षेत्रों में बिचौलियों जैसे — ज़मींदारों, जागीरदारों, मिरासदारों आदि की समाप्ति की कोशिश की गई। इसने खेतिहरों को राज्य के साथ प्रत्यक्ष रूप से जोड़ दिया। इन खेतिहरों को भूमि के स्थायी अधिकार दिए गए। इस तरह देश के प्राय: सभी राज्यों ने 1954-55 तक अनेक भूमि-सुधार विधियों के द्वारा बिचौलियों का उन्मूलन कर दिया। बिचौलियों का उन्मूलन आधुनिक कृषि संरचना की ओर बढ़ने का असाधारण प्रयास था।

(ख) काश्तकारी सुधार : किराए के आधार पर दूसरे व्यक्ति की ज़मीन के उपयोग एवं अधिग्रहण काश्तकारी को कहा जाता है। देश के विभिन्न भागों में ज़मीन काश्तकारी की प्रथा काफी दूर तक फैली हुई है। ज़मींदारी तथा रैयतवाड़ी दोनों इलाकों में विभिन्न प्रकार की काश्तकारी; जैसे– बटाईदारी निर्धारित उत्पादन व्यवस्था, निर्धारित-नगदी व्यवस्था आदि प्रचलित रही है। इस व्यवस्था के अंतर्गत छोटे किसान एवं भूमिहीन लोग धनी भू-स्वामियों से खेती के लिए ज़मीन किराए पर लेते हैं। ये भूमिहीन खेतिहर ज़मीन के बदले भू-स्वामियों को माल (उत्पाद) अथवा नगदी लगान देते हैं। इन्हें काश्तकार (रैयत) (स्थानीय नाम हैं : असम में अधियार, पश्चिम बंगाल में बरगदार, बिहार में बटाईदार, तमिलनाडु में वरमदार, पंजाब में कामिन) कहते हैं। इन काश्तकारों की सामाजिक तथा आर्थिक स्थिति कमज़ोर होती है और सुरक्षा एवं संरक्षण का भी अभाव होता है। भू-स्वामियों द्वारा इन्हें कभी भी बेदखल किया जा सकता है। अत: सभी व्यावहारिक दृष्टियों से वे 'इच्छानुसार काश्तकार' (टेनैंट्स-एट-विल) रहे हैं।

काश्तकारी के व्यापक प्रचलन के कारण विभिन्न श्रेणियों के काश्तकारों के अधिकारों एवं

दायित्वों को न्यायपूर्ण बनाने के लिए सुधार कार्यक्रमों को हाथ में लिया गया। काश्तकारी सुधारों के तीन मुख्य पक्षों पर जोर डाला गया :

(क) लगान पर नियंत्रण,

(ख) धारण (टेन्योर) व्यवस्था की सुरक्षा, तथा

(ग) काश्तकारों (किसानों) को खरीद का अधिकार।

ये कदम खेती करने वाले काश्तकारों की स्थिति को सुधारने के लिए उठाए गए। लगान पर नियंत्रण कर इन्हें निष्ठुर लगान से सुरक्षित रखा गया है। भू-धारण-व्यवस्था की सुरक्षा से भू-स्वामियों द्वारा इन्हें बेदखल किए जाने से रोका गया है। काश्तकारों को खेती वाली ज़मीन पर स्वामित्व का अधिकार दिया गया है। सितंबर 2000 तक 124.22 लाख काश्तकारों की 156.30 लाख एकड़ ज़मीन पर उनके अधिकारों को सुरक्षित किया गया है।

(ग) जोत की भूमि का सीमा निर्धारण : जोत की भूमि की सीमा निर्धारित करने का मूल उद्देश्य एक निश्चित सीमा से अधिक भूमि को वर्तमान भू-स्वामियों से लेकर भूमिहीनों के बीच वितरित करना था। यह पुनर्वितरण मूलत: सामाजिक-आर्थिक न्याय के सिद्धांत पर आधारित है। भारत में भू-स्वामित्व की असमानता एक सुप्रसिद्ध तथ्य है। स्वतंत्रता के समय ग्रामीण परिवारों में एक चौथाई के पास कोई ज़मीन नहीं थी, जबकि काफी संख्या में भू-स्वामियों के स्वामित्व में हज़ारों एकड़ ज़मीन थी। इस असंतुलन को दूर करने के लिए ही कृषि भूमि पर जोतों का निर्धारण किया गया।

स्वातंत्र्योत्तर भारत में जोतों की सीमा निर्धारण से संबंधित विधान भूमि-सुधार के दूसरे चरण का हिस्सा था। लगभग सभी राज्यों में यह प्रक्रिया द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना के दौरान प्रारंभ की गई। प्राय: सभी राज्यों में व्यक्ति अथवा परिवार के स्वामित्व में रहने वाले खेतों के आकार को नियंत्रित करने वाले विधान हैं। परंतु अनुमानित-आकार भूमिका की गुणवत्ता के आधार पर अलग-अलग हैं। निर्धारित सीमा से अधिक ज़मीन अर्जित करने की मनाही है। सीमा निर्धारण से प्राप्त अधिशेष भूमि राज्य (सरकार) द्वारा अधिगृहीत कर समुदाय के कमज़ोर वर्गों के बीच वितरित की जाती है।

यद्यपि सीमा निर्धारण कानून केंद्रीय सरकार द्वारा सुझाई गई व्यापक परिधि के अंतर्गत ही पारित हुए हैं, परंतु विभिन्न राज्यों के कानूनों में अंतर है। सभी अधिनियमों में सीमा में अनेक प्रकार की छूट दी गई है। सीमा के निर्धारण में भी भिन्नता है। अधिकांश राज्यों में निर्धारित सीमा काफी ऊंची है और कुछ राज्यों के कानूनों में पर्याप्त गुंजाइश छोड़ दी गई है, जिससे भू-स्वामी इसके साथ धोखेबाजी न कर सकें। अधिशेष भूमि के अधिग्रहण एवं भूमिहीनों में इनके वितरण के कामों में भी प्रगति काफी धीमी है।

संपूर्ण देश के स्तर पर प्रारंभ में सितंबर 2000 तक कुल घोषित अधिशेष भूमि 73.49 लाख एकड़ थी। इसमें केवल 64.84 लाख एकड़ अधिगृहीत की गई है और 52.99 लाख एकड़ वितरित हो पाई है। देश में इस कार्यक्रम से लाभांवित होने वाले लोगों की कुल संख्या 55.10 लाख है जिसमें 36 प्रतिशत अनुसूचित जातियों तथा 15 प्रतिशत अनुसूचित जनजातियों के सदस्य हैं।

(घ) जोतों की चकबंदी : भूमि का छोटे-छोटे टुकड़ों में विभाजन कृषि विकास में एक महत्त्वपूर्ण बाधा रही है। अधिकांश खेत न केवल छोटे हैं बल्कि दूर तक फैले भी हैं। अत: अनेक राज्यों में जोतों की चकबंदी से संबंधित कानूनी उपाय किए गए हैं। इसकी मुख्य बात यह है कि एक किसान की जोत के भिन्न-भिन्न टुकड़ों को एक अथवा दो जगहों पर एकत्र किया जाना जिससे संसाधनों का उचित इस्तेमाल किया जा सके। मुख्य सिंचाई परियोजनाओं के

अधिगृहीत क्षेत्रों में चकबंदी पर विशेष ध्यान देने का काम हुआ है।

(ङ) भूमि आलेख (रिकार्ड) : भूमि के अधिकारों से संबंधित आलेख अत्यंत दोषपूर्ण एवं असंतोषजनक हैं। सही तथा नवीनतम रिकार्डों की उपलब्धता हर समय समस्या रही है। अतः प्रमाणित भूमि रिकार्ड का नवीनीकरण भूमि-सुधार कार्यक्रमों का हिस्सा बना दिया गया है।

फिर भी इस कार्य की प्रगति अत्यंत दयनीय रही है। पंचवर्षीय योजना के आलेख बताते हैं कि "अनेक राज्यों के रिकार्ड, रैयत दर रैयत तथा बटाईदारों से संबंधित कोई सूचना नहीं देते।" साथ ही, आगे कहा गया है कि देश के अधिकांश इलाकों का अभी भी आधुनिकतम भूमि रिकार्ड नहीं है। इस स्थिति के पीछे मुख्य कारण यह है कि बड़े भू-स्वामी इसका कड़ा विरोध करते हैं।

फिर भी कई राज्यों ने भूमि रिकार्ड को पुनर्रक्षित सर्वे एवं बंदोबस्त द्वारा आधुनिकतम बनाने की प्रक्रिया प्रारंभ कर दी है। इन रिकार्डों को कंप्यूटरीकृत करने के कदम भी उठाए गए हैं। भूमि दस्तावेज़ों के कंप्यूटरीकरण के लिए केंद्र सरकार द्वारा प्रायोजित कार्यक्रम आरंभ किए गए हैं जो कि रिकार्ड के रख-रखाव की हस्तचालित व्यवस्था एवं उन्हें आधुनिकतम बनाने से जुड़ी समस्या के समाधान से संबंधित हैं।

हरित क्रांति

भारत में छठे दशक के अंत में खाद्यान्नों के उत्पादन में आधारभूत अंतर एवं आश्चर्यजनक गति से हुई वृद्धि को हरित क्रांति का नाम दिया गया है। यहां 'हरित' शब्द ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों के हरे-भरे खेत के लिए प्रयुक्त हुआ है और 'क्रांति' व्यापक परिवर्तन को रेखांकित करती है।

हाल के वर्षों तक देश में पर्याप्त खाद्यान्नों की उपलब्धता एक गंभीर समस्या रही है। अपार जनसंख्या के भोजन के लिए खाद्यान्नों का आयात विकसित देशों से किया जाता था। भूमि की निम्न उत्पादकता, वर्षा पर अत्यधिक निर्भरता और पुरानी कृषि संरचना खाद्यान्नों की कमी के मुख्य कारण थे। इस स्थिति में खाद्यान्नों में आत्मनिर्भरता हमारे राष्ट्रीय प्रयासों की सर्वोच्च प्राथमिकता हो गई। हमने पहले ही देखा है कि किस प्रकार पंचवर्षीय योजना के विभिन्न कार्यक्रम, भूमि-सुधार और सामुदायिक विकास कार्यक्रम सभी इस लक्ष्य की प्राप्ति में जुटे रहे हैं। परंतु प्रारंभ में इन प्रयासों को कृषि उत्पादन बढ़ाने में सफलता नहीं मिली। फलस्वरूप, छठे दशक के प्रारंभ में कृषि विकास की प्रक्रिया को तेज़ करने के लिए एक नई कृषि रणनीति बनी।

नई कृषि रणनीति इस सोच पर आधारित थी कि कृषि में विज्ञान तथा प्रौद्योगिकी का व्यापक प्रयोग खाद्यान्नों के उत्पादन में प्रचुर मात्रा में वृद्धि के रूप में फलदायी हो सकता है। छठे दशक के प्रारंभ में इस रणनीति के तहत किसानों की आवश्यकताओं के अनुरूप कृषि विकास कार्यक्रमों में संशोधन किए गए। इस दृष्टि से जिन मुख्य कार्यक्रमों को हाथ में लिया गया उसकी चर्चा आगे के अनुच्छेदों में की गई है।

वर्ष 1961 में गहन कृषि जिला कार्यक्रम जिसे 'पैकेज कार्यक्रम' भी कहा जाता था, देश के सात जिलों में प्रयोग के तौर पर प्रारंभ किया गया। यह कार्यक्रम बाद में कुछ और ज़िलों में भी प्रारंभ किया गया। इसका उद्देश्य उन्नत औज़ार, साख (ऋण), अधिक उपज वाले बीज, सुनिश्चित सिंचाई इत्यादि को एक साथ मिलाकर कृषि की उत्पादकता बढ़ाना था। इस गहन कृषि के प्रयोग का अच्छा परिणाम हुआ। खाद्यान्नों के उत्पादन में पर्याप्त वृद्धि हुई और इस कार्यक्रम का विस्तार बड़े क्षेत्रों में किया गया। इसके फलस्वरूप एक नया कार्यक्रम 'गहन कृषि क्षेत्र कार्यक्रम' के नाम से प्रारंभ किया गया।

अभूतपूर्व सफलता से उत्साहित होकर छठे दशक के उत्तरार्द्ध में कुछ अन्य कार्यक्रमों तथा एजेंसियों का प्रादुर्भाव हुआ। इनमें, भारी उपज वाले बीज कार्यक्रम, लघु किसान विकास एजेंसी और सीमांत किसान एवं कृषि मज़दूर विकास कार्यक्रम प्रमुख थे। इन कार्यक्रमों को उर्वरकों, कीटनाशक औषधियों, संस्थागत ऋण एवं विस्तृत सिंचाई सुविधाओं की सुनिश्चित आपूर्ति के साथ जोड़ा गया। इन सभी कार्यक्रमों में 'भारी उपज वाले बीज कार्यक्रम' का सबसे अधिक प्रभाव पड़ा। अधिक उपज वाले बीज के कारण खाद्यान्नों का उत्पादन काफी बढ़ा। सन 1977-78 के दौरान गेहूं का उत्पादन दुगुना हो गया तथा चावल का उत्पादन भी बढ़ना प्रारंभ हो गया, किंतु मकई, ज्वार और बाजरा के क्षेत्र में प्रगति मंद रही।

हरित क्रांति, जिसका आगमन छठे दशक के अंत में हुआ, आज भी कायम है। गेहूं क्रांति से यह प्रारंभ हुआ, परंतु बाद में चावल इससे आगे निकल गया। दूसरे अनाज जैसे, दलहन, ज्वार, मकई तथा बाजरा भी अधिक पीछे नहीं रहे। उसी तरह, इसकी यात्रा पंजाब से देश के अन्य क्षेत्रों तक चलती रही। अब हम न केवल खाद्यान्नों में आत्मनिर्भर हैं बल्कि इसका निर्यात भी करने लगे हैं। हमारे इस कथन को खाद्यान्नों से संबंधित आंकड़े पुष्ट करते हैं।

वर्ष 1999-2000 में खाद्यान्नों का कुल उत्पादन 20 करोड़ 88 लाख टन रहा जो पिछले वर्ष की उपज से 52.6 लाख टन अधिक था। चावल का उत्पादन 1998-99 के 8 करोड़ 6 लाख की तुलना में 1999-2000 में 8 करोड़ 94 लाख टन हुआ। गेहूं का उत्पादन वर्ष 1998-99 के 7 करोड़ 10 लाख टन की तुलना में 1999-2000 में बढ़कर 7 करोड़ 56 लाख टन हो गया। परंतु मोटे अनाजों (ज्वार, बाजरा, मकई आदि) की उपज वर्ष 1998-99 के 3 करोड़ 13 लाख टन की जगह 1999-2000 में घट कर 3 करोड़ हो गई। वर्षा पर पूर्णत: निर्भर रहने के कारण मोटे अनाजों की उपज में काफी रूपांतरण होता रहता है।

हरित क्रांति के सामाजिक-आर्थिक परिणाम

हरित क्रांति ने निश्चित रूप से देश में खाद्य स्थिति में सुधार किया है। इसने भूख की समस्या का समाधान किया है तथा भारतीय अर्थव्यवस्था के आगे के विकास के लिए एक मज़बूत आधार तैयार किया है। इसने किसानों की मानसिकता को बदला है। इस संदर्भ में आंद्रे बेतेई ने सही कहा है कि, "हरित क्रांति ने भारतीय किसानों की सक्रियता में एक नया विश्वास जगाया है, क्योंकि इसने न केवल तकनीकी नवाचार को शीघ्रता से आत्मसात करने की क्षमता दिखाई है बल्कि सामाजिक प्रबंधों को निपुणता के साथ संचालित भी किया है।"

किंतु इस कार्यक्रम का प्रभाव कृषक जनसंख्या के विभिन्न खंडों पर समान रूप से नहीं पड़ा है। हम यहां इस तथ्य को स्पष्ट करना चाहते हैं कि हरित क्रांति से लघु और गरीब किसानों, बटाईदारों और भूमिहीन कृषि-मज़दूरों की सामाजिक-आर्थिक स्थिति में अस्थिरता पैदा हुई है।

नवीन तकनीकी तथा उन्नत बीज, उर्वरक, कीटनाशक औषधि, सिंचाई आदि जैसे निवेश लघु एवं सीमांत किसानों की पहुंच से बाहर हैं। स्वाभाविक रूप से पंजाब जैसे बड़ी जोतों वाले कुछ इलाकों में, बिहार और उड़ीसा, जहां सीमांत एवं गरीब किसान काफी संख्या में हैं और संस्थागत ऋण भी सहजता से उपलब्ध नहीं है, की तुलना में यह अधिक सफल रहा है। इसने लघु किसानों और धनी किसानों के बीच की दूरी बढ़ा दी है।

दूसरे, संपन्न किसान ज़मीन से प्राप्त मुनाफे से प्रसन्न हैं परंतु कृषि-मज़दूरों की वास्तविक मज़दूरी अधिकांश स्थानों पर घट रही है। काफी संख्या में

बटाईदार अब भूमिहीन मजदूरों की कतार में शामिल हो रहे हैं, क्योंकि अब छोटे खेत इन बटाईदारों को खेती के लिए उपलब्ध नहीं हो रहे हैं।

तीसरे, कृषि क्षेत्र में आर्थिक असमानता बढ़ रही है जिससे ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में असंतोष फैल रहा है। छठे दशक के अंत तथा सातवें दशक के प्रारंभ में संघर्ष के अनेक उदाहरण सामने आए जो विशेष कर हरित क्रांति वाले क्षेत्रों से थे। स्थिति काफी गंभीर हो गई और भारत सरकार के गृह मंत्रालय ने कृषि संबंधी तनाव के कारणों एवं स्वरूप के अध्ययन के बाद नई कृषि रणनीति के सामाजिक -राजनीतिक निहितार्थ को स्वीकार किया। रिपोर्ट के निष्कर्ष में कहा गया कि नई कृषि रणनीति ने ''संपन्न किसानों तथा लघु भू-स्वामियों एवं भूमिहीन कृषि श्रमिकों के बड़े समूह के बीच दरार बढ़ा दी है।'' इस समस्या के विश्लेषण में पी. सी. जोशी का तर्क है कि संघर्ष और असंतोष 'पुरानी कृषि संरचना में निहित हैं।' जहां इस प्रकार की कृषि संरचना तनाव का मूल कारण है, वहीं 'प्रत्यक्ष' कारण, जिससे 'अव्यक्त' असंतोष 'व्यक्त' तनाव के रूप में फूटता है नई कृषि रणनीति तथा हरित क्रांति में अवस्थित है।

हरित क्रांति के कारण जो सामान्य संपन्नता आई उसमें गरीब किसान, बटाईदार तथा भूमिहीन कृषि मज़दूर लाभप्रद हिस्सेदार बनने में सक्षम नहीं हो पाए। इस संदर्भ में टी. के. उम्मन बताते हैं कि क्रांति स्वत: गरीबों का कल्याण नहीं कर पाएगी जब तक वर्तमान सामाजिक-आर्थिक तथा राजनीतिक संरचना का निचले स्तर तक रूपांतरण न हो जाए।

अंत में, कृषि उत्पादन में बढ़ोत्तरी मुख्य रूप से पंजाब, हरियाणा, पश्चिमी उत्तर प्रदेश, तमिलनाडु और महाराष्ट्र जैसे क्षेत्रों में ही दृष्टिगोचर हो रही है। देश के अधिकांश इलाके इस कृषि परिवर्तन से लाभांवित नहीं हुए हैं। उसी तरह हरित क्रांति पट्टियों में पूंजीपति किसानों का एक नया वर्ग उत्पन्न हुआ है। एक दूसरी प्रवृत्ति का संकेत है कि कृषि उत्पादन बढ़ा है, परंतु सामाजिक अभिसूचक उसी अनुपात में नहीं बदला है। उदाहरण के लिए, जिन क्षेत्रों में कृषीय संपन्नता प्राप्त कर ली गई है वहां लिंग-अनुपात अभी भी प्रतिकूल है। परंतु इन सीमाओं के बावजूद हरित क्रांति ने निस्संदेह तीव्र आर्थिक विकास का मार्ग प्रशस्त किया है और तदनुरूप सामाजिक परिवर्तन आया है।

शब्दावली

समता : समता लोगों को समानता के आधार पर देखने का और भेदभाव न रखने का विचार है।

खेड़ा आंदोलन : यह गरीब किसानों द्वारा स्वतंत्रता से पहले चलाया गया आंदोलन जो भू-स्वामियों द्वारा किसानों के शोषण के विरुद्ध था।

मध्यस्थ (बिचौलिए) : ये किसानों एवं ज़मींदारों के बीच के व्यक्ति थे और सामान्यत: अपने स्वार्थ के लिए गरीब किसानों का शोषण करते थे।

भूमि चकबंदी : भू-स्वामियों के लिए एक विशिष्ट पैमाने की भूमि रखने का प्रावधान किया गया। यह व्यवस्था समानता लाने के लिए प्रारंभ की गई, अतिरिक्त भूमि का आवंटन भूमिहीन किसानों को किया जाता था।

अभ्यास प्रश्न

1. भूमि-सुधार से आप क्या समझते हैं ?
2. भारत में भूमि-सुधार के मुख्य उद्देश्य क्या थे?
3. स्वतंत्रता के पश्चात भूमि-सुधार के क्या उद्देश्य थे ?
4. भारत में भूमि-सुधार का मुख्य उद्देश्य बिचौलियों (मध्यस्थों) को हटाना क्यों था ?
5. भूमि चकबंदी के पीछे क्या उद्देश्य था ?
6. भारत में हरित क्रांति के सामाजिक-आर्थिक परिणामों की व्याख्या कीजिए।

संदर्भ-ग्रंथ

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अध्याय 6

नव समूह, वर्ग तथा भूमंडलीकरण

सामाजिक संरचना तथा स्तरीकरण के अध्ययन के समय आपने देखा होगा कि जाति और वर्ग सामाजिक स्तरीकरण के दो मुख्य रूप हैं। इन दोनों व्यवस्थाओं को 'बंद' तथा 'खुली' वर्ग व्यवस्थाओं के रूप में भी व्यक्त किया जाता है। अत: यह स्पष्ट है कि विभिन्न समाजों में कठोरता की दृष्टि से स्तरीकरण के ढांचे अलग-अलग होते हैं और किसी समाज विशेष के अंदर भी एक समय से दूसरे समय में इसमें भिन्नता पाई जाती है। इस अर्थ में, स्तरीकरण के प्रतिमान सदा स्थिर नहीं होते। इनके स्वरूप और संरचना में परिवर्तन होते रहते हैं। अतएव, एक व्यक्ति का न केवल वर्ग स्तर बदल सकता है बल्कि एक या दो पुश्तों में उसके जातीय स्तर में भी परिवर्तन आ सकता है। इस तथ्य की विवेचना हमने संस्कृतिकरण की प्रक्रिया की चर्चा करते समय भी की थी। यहां हम इस प्रश्न पर प्रकाश डालना चाहते हैं कि सामाजिक परिवर्तन के परिणामस्वरूप हर समाज में नए समूह और वर्ग उत्पन्न होते रहते हैं। इस अध्याय में हम भारतीय समाज के उदाहरणों द्वारा इस बात पर विचार करेंगे कि सामाजिक परिवर्तन के कारण उत्पन्न नए समूहों और वर्गो का स्वरूप कैसा है।

भारतीय समाज में परिवर्तन की दिशा नए समूहों और वर्गों की उत्पत्ति तथा उनके दृढ़ीकरण को प्रकट करती है। यह प्रवृत्ति न केवल ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में, बल्कि शहरी तथा औद्योगिक इलाकों में भी दिख रही है। फिर भी, इन समूहों तथा वर्गों के स्वरूप और आकार से संबंधित सुव्यवस्थित समाजशास्त्रीय अध्ययनों के अभाव में इनके विषय में निर्णायक विवरण देना कठिन है। अत: हमने इस प्रवृत्ति को स्पष्ट करने के लिए कुछ ही समूहों की चर्चा की है।

सज्जन किसान (जैंटलमैन फार्मर)

आज देश में परंपरागत भू-स्वामी वर्ग की बनावट बदल रही है। पहले अधिकांश भू-स्वामियों को ज़मीन केवल अपने पूर्वजों के उत्तराधिकार में प्राप्त हुआ करती थी। ज़मीन बाज़ार में नहीं खरीदी जा सकती थी, क्योंकि भू-बाज़ार पूर्ण विकसित नहीं था। किंतु अब यह स्थिति बदल गई है। भूमि-सुधार और हरित क्रांति के कारण कृषि व्यवस्था में बदलाव आया है। कृषि में नई तकनीक के प्रवेश से कृषि उत्पादन की पद्धति में परिवर्तन आया है। ज़मीन की तुलना में अन्य संसाधनों का महत्त्व बढ़ गया है। ट्रैक्टर, यांत्रिक हल, पंपसेट, थ्रैसर आदि जैसे संसाधनों को बाज़ार से खरीदा जा सकता है। अत: यदि किसी ने अपने पूर्वजों से उत्तराधिकार में ज़मीन नहीं भी प्राप्त की है फिर भी उसके लिए यह संभव है कि वह इन साधनों द्वारा भू-स्वामियों के वर्ग में शामिल हो सकता है।

इस प्रकार किसानों का एक नया वर्ग पनप रहा है, जिसमें कुशलताओं के जानकार तथा अनुभवी

लोग शामिल हैं। वे परंपरागत ऊंची जाति वाले भू-स्वामियों के वर्ग से नहीं आते। इनमें वैसे लोग शामिल हैं जो असैनिक तथा सेना की सेवाओं से रिटायर हुए हैं और जिन्होंने अपनी बचत को कृषि फार्म में लगाया है। 'सज्जन किसान' के आगमन की यही कहानी है।

यह समूह उन शिक्षित लोगों को भी आकर्षित कर रहा है जो कृषि को अपना व्यवसाय बनाना चाहते हैं। खेती से प्राप्त मुनाफे में वृद्धि ही इसका मुख्य कारण है। अब कृषि फार्म को आधुनिक संगठन की सभी विशेषताओं के साथ व्यापार की भांति चलाया जा रहा है। इस दृष्टि से परंपरागत कृषि व्यवस्था और इस नई उदित व्यवस्था में काफी अंतर है।

पूंजीपति किसान

भारत में स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के बाद पूंजीपति किसानों का आविर्भाव भी महत्त्व की बात है। भारतीय कृषि में किस हद तक पूंजीवाद का प्रवेश हुआ है — इस प्रश्न पर अब तक बहस चल रही है, परंतु उद्योग की तरह कृषि में भी पूंजीवादी विकास की प्रवृत्ति स्पष्ट झलक रही है। श्रम-आधारित पूंजीवादी कृषि-व्यवस्था ने परंपरागत प्रथाओं पर आधारित भूमि संबंध को बदल दिया है। कृषक पारिवारिक फार्म से हट कर वाणिज्यिक पूंजीवादी फार्म का चलन स्पष्ट दिखाई दे रहा है।

धनी किसानों का एक शक्तिशाली वर्ग निस्संदेह पहले भी था, परंतु उसे पूंजीपति किसानों की श्रेणी में रखना उचित नहीं होगा, क्योंकि कृषि में पूंजीवादी प्रवृत्ति का प्रवेश नहीं के बराबर था। हाल में कृषि क्षेत्र में भूमि-सुधारों के अतिरिक्त कई अन्य शक्तियां भी कार्यरत हैं। नई प्रौद्योगिकी के प्रवेश के साथ-साथ कृषि विकास के कई कार्यक्रमों ने धनी किसानों के एक छोटे समूह को शक्तिशाली व्यापारिक एवं पूंजीपति किसान के रूप में उभरने में मदद की है। इन किसानों ने उन्नत बीज, उर्वरक, उन्नत औज़ार, सिंचाई और ऋण की सुविधाओं के साथ-साथ संशोधित यातायात एवं संचार की व्यवस्थाओं जैसे संसाधनों का भरपूर लाभ उठाया है। पूंजीपति किसान अपनी आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति के लिए श्रमिकों को किराए पर लेते हैं। पूंजीपति किसानों द्वारा काम में लगाए गए मज़दूर ही असली खेत जोतने वाले हैं। पूंजीपति किसान केवल अधिकतम मुनाफे के लिए कृषि से जुड़े होते हैं। इस प्रकार कृषि उत्पादन से हुई बचत को पुनः बाज़ार में निवेश किया जा रहा है।

देश में पूंजीपति किसान वर्ग का आकार अभी भी छोटा है। किंतु इसकी उत्पत्ति तथा विकास कृषि सामाजिक संरचना में हो रहे प्रमुख परिवर्तन को प्रदर्शित करते हैं। इस वर्ग के विकास ने न केवल कृषि में कार्यक्षमता और उत्पादकता बढ़ाई है, बल्कि औद्योगिक वृद्धि एवं विकास में भी सहायता की है। लेकिन इस प्रवृत्ति का दूसरा पक्ष भी है। इस प्रवृत्ति ने धनी और निर्धन किसानों के बीच की दूरी बढ़ाई है। कृषक वर्गों के उच्च और निम्न स्तर के कृषकों के बीच असमानता तीव्र हुई है जिससे ग्रामीण इलाकों में अशांति और तनावग्रस्तता पैदा हुई है।

प्रभावी मध्यम जातीय किसान

देश के सभी भागों में भूमि-सुधार एवं हरित क्रांति का एक समान प्रभाव नहीं पड़ा है। किसी विशेष क्षेत्र में कुछ विशेष वर्ग के लोग दूसरों से अधिक लाभान्वित हुए हैं। जहां प्रत्येक प्रदेश में बड़ी जोतों (बढ़े खेत) के स्वामियों ने सबसे अधिक मुनाफा कमाया है, वहीं इन लाभों में छोटे किसानों का हिस्सा हर इलाके में सीमित रहा है। फिर भी, पूरे देश में मध्यम किसान ही इसके असली लाभ लेने वाले रहे हैं। यहां यह प्रश्न स्वाभाविक है कि ऐसा क्यों हुआ है ?

इस प्रश्न का उत्तर हमें भारत के ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में मध्यम किसानों की प्रकृति तथा उसकी रचना में मिलता है। मध्यम किसान सामान्यत: मध्यम जातीय समूहों के होते हैं। यद्यपि जातियों का अखिल भारतीय संस्तरण नहीं है, किंतु फिर भी कुछ स्तरों को चिह्नित किया जा सकता है जिन्हें हम मध्यम जाति कह सकते हैं। वे सभी जातियां जो ऊंची जातियों के नीचे परंतु निम्न व अनुसूचित जातियों से ऊपर अवस्थित हैं, मध्य जातियों की श्रेणी के अंतर्गत आती हैं। यह सजातीय समूह नहीं है मगर इनमें कुछ समान विशेषताएं विद्यमान हैं इसलिए इन्हें एक श्रेणी के अंदर सम्मिलित किया जा सकता है। मध्यम जातियों की कुछ प्रमुख विशेषताओं की चर्चा नीचे की गई है।

प्रथमत:, स्थानीय जातीय संस्तरण में उनका स्थान ऊंचा होता है। छुआछूत और भेदभाव जैसी सामाजिक निर्योग्ताएं उन पर लागू नहीं होतीं। दूसरा, इस श्रेणी की अधिकांश जातियां परंपरागत कृषक जातियां हैं। वे स्वयं खेती करने वाले मध्यम जोतों (खेतों) के स्वामी होते हैं। तीसरा, ऊंची जातियों के विपरीत, ये जातियां प्रत्यक्ष रूप से कृषि कार्यों में भाग लेती हैं। अंतत:, स्थानीय स्तर पर जनसंख्या की दृष्टि से इनका आधिपत्य होता है। वस्तुत: मध्यम वर्गीय जातियां एम. एन. श्रीनिवास द्वारा प्रतिपादित 'प्रभुजाति' की अवधारणा के समान ही है। इन दोनों श्रेणियों की अधिकांश विशेषताएं समान हैं, परंतु जातीय संस्तरण में इनकी स्थिति एक जैसी नहीं है। एक प्रभुजाति दोनों उच्च अथवा मध्यम जातीय समूहों की हो सकती है, परंतु मध्यम जातियों के साथ ऐसा नहीं है।

मध्यम जातियां ही प्रभावी मध्यम जातीय किसान वर्ग के रूप में उभरी हैं। इन्होंने भूमि-सुधार और हरित क्रांति का अधिकतम लाभ उठाया है। जमींदारी, जागीरदारी जैसे मध्यस्थ वर्गों के उन्मूलन के समय बड़े पैमाने पर ज़मीन का हस्तांतरण हुआ था। इस ज़मीन के अधिकांश हिस्सों को मध्यम जाति के लोगों ने खरीदा था। दूसरे, जब ऊंची जातियों के लोग गांवों से बड़ी संख्या में शहर चले गए तब उनके द्वारा बेची गई ज़मीन भी इन लोगों ने ही खरीदी। अंतत: कृषि विकास के नए कार्यक्रमों ने भी मध्यम जातियों को अपनी आर्थिक स्थिति को सुधारने में सहायता पहुंचाई। वास्तव में इनकी कृषक पृष्ठभूमि ने इन्हें दोहरा फायदा पहुंचाया। इस प्रकार मध्यम जातियों ने कम समय में ही आर्थिक संपन्नता हासिल कर ली है।

बढ़ी आर्थिक संपन्नता ने मध्यम जातियों के प्रभाव को राजनीतिक क्षेत्र तक फैलाने में सहायता पहुंचाई है। यहां भी इनकी जनसंख्या की शक्ति ने इन्हें राजनीतिक प्रभुत्व प्राप्त करने में मदद की है। बिहार एवं उत्तर प्रदेश में यादव (अहीर) तथा कुर्मी, कर्नाटक में वक्कालिगा, आंध्र प्रदेश में कम्मा तथा रेड्डी जैसी जातियों की अभूतपूर्व उन्नत दशा इस प्रवृत्ति की द्योतक है। इस प्रकार प्रभावी मध्य जातीय किसानों का उदय भारत के ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों की बदलती तस्वीर को प्रतिबिंबित करता है।

नव समूहों और वर्गों की उत्पत्ति से संबंधित अब तक की विवेचना मुख्यत: ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों तक ही सीमित रही है। अब हम नगरीय तथा औद्योगिक क्षेत्रों की चर्चा करें जहां कई नए समूह तथा वर्ग दृष्टिगोचर हो रहे हैं। परंतु इससे पूर्व कि हम नगरीय समूहों की चर्चा करें, इससे संबंधित एक महत्त्वपूर्ण तथ्य की ओर ध्यान देना ज़रूरी है। ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों के समूह तथा वर्ग, जिनकी चर्चा हमने ऊपर की है, स्पष्टतया इस अर्थ में नए हैं कि वे हाल में ही सामने आए हैं, किंतु नगरीय क्षेत्रों की स्थिति मूलत: अलग हैं, क्योंकि ये समूह और वर्ग सही अर्थ में नए नहीं हैं। औद्योगिक-नगरीय इलाकों में इनका आगमन काफी पहले हो चुका था, परंतु आज आकार तथा भूमिका दोनों दृष्टियों से इनकी स्थिति मज़बूत हुई है। इस

सीमा के बावजूद हम इनमें से कुछ समूहों के बदलते स्वरूप को परिवर्तन की प्रकृति के अनुसार देखने का प्रयास करेंगे।

व्यवसायी अभिजात वर्ग

उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी के मध्य से भारत में एक उद्यमी वर्ग अथवा व्यवसायी अभिजात वर्ग का उभरना प्रारंभ हुआ। यद्यपि ब्रिटिश शासन के पहले देश में उद्यमशील व्यवसायियों और व्यापारियों का एक समूह विद्यमान था, परंतु नया व्यवसायी अभिजात वर्ग इस काल में ही उभर कर सामने आया। परंपरा से अधिकांश व्यवसायी व्यापारी जातियों एवं समुदायों के थे, किंतु जब भारतीय अर्थव्यवस्था का ब्रिटिश व्यवस्था से संबंध स्थापित हुआ, अन्य जातियों के लोग भी व्यापारीय उद्यमों में शामिल हुए। अधिकांश व्यापारिक फर्म अंग्रेज़ों के नियंत्रण में थीं, अतः भारतीय व्यवसाय मुख्यतः अंग्रेज़ी फर्मों से जुड़ा था। व्यवसायियों का यह समूह मुख्यतः व्यापारिक एजेंट था, औद्योगिक उद्यमी नहीं। इसके अतिरिक्त, वे मुख्यतया कोलकाता, मुंबई और चेन्नई क्षेत्रों में अवस्थित थे, क्योंकि व्यापारिक एवं औद्योगिक गतिविधियां इन्हीं क्षेत्रों में केंद्रित थीं। इस समूह के लोग मुख्यतः ऊंची जातियों से आए थे। उदाहरण के लिए, कोलकाता में जैन, बनियों और कायस्थों का बोलबाला था, मुंबई में पारसी और जैनों का तथा चेन्नई क्षेत्र में चेट्टियारों का व्यवसाय पर नियंत्रण था।

बीसवीं शताब्दी के प्रारंभ में भारतीय औद्योगिक उद्यमी अंग्रेज़ों से मुकाबला करने लगे। व्यवसायी अभिजात वर्ग में गुजराती, पारसी तथा मारवाड़ी प्रभावशाली समूह के रूप में उभरे। समाजशास्त्रीय अध्ययनों ने व्यवसायी अभिजात वर्ग की दो प्रधान विशेषताओं की चर्चा की है। प्रथमतः, इस वर्ग के अधिकांश सदस्य पारंपरिक व्यापारी जातियों के सदस्य हैं और इस अर्थ में विगत परंपरा के साथ निरंतरता बनी हुई है। दूसरे, इस समूह का भारत के राष्ट्रीय आंदोलन के साथ घनिष्ठ संबंध रहा है। ये विशेषताएं, जैसा कि योगेंद्र सिंह ने कहा है, "भारत के आधुनिकीकरण में व्यावसायिक अभिजात वर्ग की भूमिका को प्रभावित कर रही हैं।"

स्वतंत्रता के बाद, व्यवसायी अभिजात वर्ग का आकार तथा उसकी भूमिका काफी बढ़ी है। यह मुख्यतः पिछले कुछ दशकों में औद्योगिक क्रिया-कलापों के विस्तार के कारण हुआ है। अब औद्योगिक व्यवसायी समूह अपने कारोबार को आधुनिक वैज्ञानिक तरीकों से संगठित कर रहे हैं और इनकी तुलना देश के बाहर उनके समकक्ष लोगों के साथ की जा सकती है। प्रशिक्षित मैनेजर इनके संगठनों का संचालन करते हैं। फलस्वरूप, इस प्रकार का नौकरशाही ढांचा उभरा है जो औद्योगिक नौकरशाहों का एक नया वर्ग खड़ा कर रहा है।

व्यवसायी अभिजात वर्ग का तीव्र विकास लोगों की उद्यमी प्रेरणा में आए महत्त्वपूर्ण परिवर्तन का द्योतक है। विभिन्न सामाजिक समूह और जातियों के सदस्यों के इस क्षेत्र में प्रवेश से धीरे-धीरे इस वर्ग का विस्तार हो रहा है। पिछड़े इलाकों के औद्योगिक विकास में इस प्रवृत्ति को देखा जा सकता है।

नव मध्यम वर्ग

भारत में आर्थिक उदारीकरण के इस काल में नव मध्यम वर्ग का उदय एक रोचक तथ्य है। अकादमिक अध्ययनों ने पूर्व में निःसंदेह भारतीय मध्यम वर्ग के स्वरूप का विश्लेषण किया था, परंतु इस नव मध्यम वर्ग के उभरने की ओर समाज विज्ञानियों का ध्यान हाल ही में गया है।

भारतीय मध्यम वर्गों पर अपने ख्याति प्राप्त अध्ययन में बी. बी. मिश्र ने कहा है कि सरकारी

कर्मचारियों, वकीलों, कॉलेज-शिक्षकों तथा डॉक्टरों जैसे शिक्षित व्यवसायों के सदस्यगण मुख्यतः भारतीय मध्यम वर्गों की श्रेणी में शामिल हैं। उन्होंने व्यापारियों के समूह, आधुनिक व्यापारिक फर्मों के एजेंटों, बैंक एवं व्यापार के वेतनभोगी प्रशासकों तथा मध्यवर्ती स्तरों के भू-स्वामी किसानों को भी इसी वर्ग में सम्मिलित किया था। समकालीन भारत में मध्यम वर्ग की भूमिका को समझने के लिए मध्यम वर्ग की इस अवधारणा का बोलबाला वर्षों तक रहा है।

ऐसा तर्क दिया गया है कि स्वतंत्रता के कुछ वर्षों तक मध्यम वर्ग का आर्थिक लक्ष्य संपूर्ण राष्ट्र के प्रति व्यापक नैतिक तथा आचरण संबंधी उत्तरदायित्व में समाहित था। एक निर्धन देश में भौतिकवादी प्रदर्शन पर रोक आदर्श था जो मध्यम वर्ग के चरित्र में झलकता था। परंतु आज इस वर्ग के मूल चरित्र में व्यापक परिवर्तन हुए हैं। उदाहरण के लिए, पवन वर्मा ने अपनी पुस्तक 'द ग्रेट इंडियन मिडिल क्लास' में भारतीय वर्ग में गिरते सामाजिक उत्तरदायित्व पर एक रोचक बहस की शुरुआत की है। इस संदर्भ में ही भारत में नव मध्यम वर्ग का विचार सामने आया है।

आज की उपभोक्तावादी संस्कृति ने नव मध्यम वर्ग को जन्म दिया है। भारत में सन 1990 में प्रारंभ हुए आर्थिक उदारीकरण ने मध्यम वर्ग को एक काफी बड़े बाज़ार के रूप में रेखांकित किया है जिस पर बहुराष्ट्रीय कंपनियों की नज़र है। मुद्रित संचार और टेलीविजन द्वारा नगरीय मध्यम वर्ग की तस्वीर को एक संपन्न उपभोक्ता के रूप में उभारा गया है। सेलुलर फोन, कार, धुलाई मशीन, रंगीन टेलीविजन जैसी उपभोग सामग्रियों के प्रचार ने नवीन मध्य वर्गीय संस्कृति को उभारा है। विज्ञापनों से बने कल्पित चित्र ने नव मध्यम वर्ग के स्वरूप के निर्माण में और भी अधिक मदद पहुंचाई है।

नव मध्यम वर्ग ने सादगी तथा सरकारी संरक्षण पर निर्भरता को दरकिनार कर दिया है। मध्यम वर्ग रूचि तथा उपभोग से संबंधित नए सामाजिक व्यवहारों एवं सांस्कृतिक प्रतिमानों को अंगीकार करने में लगा हुआ है। अतः मध्यम वर्ग की 'नवीनता' एक नई विचारधारा को अपनाने में है न कि भारतीय मध्यम वर्ग के सामाजिक आधार के बदले जाने में।

नव मध्यम वर्ग के आलोचकों ने इसके नकारात्मक प्रभावों की ओर ध्यान दिलाया है। मध्यम वर्गीय उपभोक्तावाद पर्यावरण को भ्रष्ट कर रहा है। साथ ही यह वर्ग इस देश की सामाजिक-आर्थिक समस्याओं के प्रति उदासीन है। फिर भी उदारीकरण के प्रस्तावकों ने इस नव मध्यम वर्ग को भारत के भूमंडलीकरण के लिए एक आदर्श वर्ग के रूप में प्रायोजित किया है।

भूमंडलीकरण और उदारीकरण

भूमंडलीकरण की घटना ने अस्सी के दशक से काफी अभिरुचि जगाई है। हम सामाजिक परिवर्तन के संदर्भ में इस पर चर्चा करेंगे।

भूमंडलीकरण समकालीन विश्व की विशिष्टताओं में एक है। इस शब्द का प्रयोग मुख्यतः आर्थिक अर्थ में किया जाता है। इस दृष्टि से, भूमंडलीकरण मुक्त बाजार की स्थिति में विश्व की अर्थव्यवस्थाओं के एकीकरण की प्रक्रिया है। मुक्त बाज़ार में व्यापार और पूंजी का मुक्त प्रवाह है तथा लोगों का राष्ट्रीय सीमाओं के पार आना-जाना शामिल है। अतएव, भूमंडलीकरण की पहचान नई विश्व व्यापार व्यवस्था तथा व्यावसायिक बाजारों के खुलने से है। विज्ञान तथा प्रौद्योगिकी ने भूमंडलीकरण के प्रसार में काफी मदद की है। इस संपूर्ण प्रक्रिया को सूचना के तत्काल प्रसार के लिए विकसित तकनीक ने सरल बना दिया है।

ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से विश्व ने उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी के उत्तरार्द्ध तथा बीसवीं शताब्दी के प्रारंभ में भी

आर्थिक एकीकरण का अनुभव किया था। परंतु विश्व युद्धों, आर्थिक मंदी और लोगों के आवागमन पर रोक के कारण लगभग सन 1970 तक इस प्रक्रिया में अवरोध रहा। भूमंडलीकरण की प्रक्रिया को पिछले दो दशकों के दौरान एक नया प्रोत्साहन मिला है।

बहुराष्ट्रीय कंपनियों द्वारा उत्पादन का अंतर्राष्ट्रीयकरण बड़े पैमाने पर हो रहा है। एक देश में स्थित कंपनी जो कई देशों में कार्य कर रही होती है उसे बहुराष्ट्रीय अथवा पराराष्ट्रीय निगम कहते हैं। बहुराष्ट्रीय निगमों से संबद्ध हज़ारों कंपनियां दुनिया के विभिन्न भागों में फैली होती हैं। एक आकलन के अनुसार वर्ष 1998 में इन कंपनियों की कुल बिक्री विश्व व्यापार की करीब एक-तिहाई थी। ये निगम पूरे विश्व को एक बाज़ार समझते हैं न कि राष्ट्रीय बाज़ारों का एक झुंड।

इसके अतिरिक्त, विदेशी व्यापार की मात्रा बढ़ाने के उद्देश्य से कर एवं सीमा-शुल्क को घटाने तथा अन्य बाधाओं को दूर करने के परिणामस्वरूप देश की सीमाओं के बाहर व्यापार तेज़ी से बढ़ रहा है। यातायात एवं संचार पर होने वाले खर्च अपेक्षाकृत कम हो गए हैं। फलत: प्रौद्योगिकी की दृष्टि से विकसित कंपनियां और उद्यम अनेक देशों में विभिन्न स्थानों पर जा रहे हैं। भूमंडलीकरण ने बहुराष्ट्रीय निगमों के लिए नए रास्ते खोल दिए हैं। यह विकसित तथा विकासशील दोनों प्रकार के देशों के लिए नए अवसर प्रस्तुत कर रहा है। भूमंडलीकरण संपूर्ण संसार को एक विश्व-ग्राम में परिवर्तित कर रहा है।

भूमंडलीकरण की क्षमता

भूमंडलीकरण के प्रस्तावक इसका कई कारणों से समर्थन करते हैं, जिनमें से कुछ का विवेचन नीचे किया गया है।

भूमंडलीकरण की प्रक्रिया मुक्त बाज़ार के मुख्य सिद्धांत पर आधारित है। ऐसा माना जाता है कि यह मुक्त बाज़ारीकरण प्रतियोगिता उत्पन्न करता है और कार्य दक्षता बढ़ाता है जिसका नियंत्रित बाज़ारों में अभाव होता है। बढ़ी हुई कार्य दक्षता सामानों तथा सेवाओं की गुणवत्ता में सुधार लाती है। मुक्त बाजार विशेषकर पिछड़ी अर्थव्यवस्थाओं के विकास में सहायक है।

भूमंडलीकरण की स्थिति में आंतरिक अर्थव्यवस्था में विदेशी निवेश प्रचुर मात्रा में होता है जो इसे मज़बूत तथा तेज़ बनाता है। ये निवेश विशेषकर उन देशों को सहायता पहुंचाते हैं जो आंतरिक संसाधनों की कमी का सामना कर रहे होते हैं। इस प्रकार, विदेशी पूंजी तथा वस्तुओं के अनियंत्रित प्रवाह की मुक्त-द्वार नीति अपनाई जाती है जिससे अपेक्षा की जाती है कि यह तीसरी दुनिया की मंद अर्थव्यवस्था को प्रफुल्लित कर पाएगी।

भूमंडलीकरण रोज़गार के अवसरों में वृद्धि की गारंटी देता है। अधिक रोज़गार और अधिक आर्थिक विकास जनता के जीवन की गुणवत्ता को अधिक अच्छा बनाएंगे। अधिकांश विकासशील देशों के लिए बेरोज़गारी एक गंभीर समस्या बनी हुई है, अतः भूमंडलीकरण को इस समस्या के लिए संजीवनी के तौर पर प्रस्तुत किया जा रहा है।

यह माना जा रहा है कि अर्थव्यवस्था के एकीकरण से जो आर्थिक विकास होगा वह स्वतः सामाजिक न्याय के सवाल को सुलझा देगा। विश्व अर्थव्यवस्था की नवीन प्रक्रिया तथा विवेकशील क्रियाविधि वंचित समूहों के लिए सुरक्षा-जाल का प्रबंध करेगी। अत: ऐसा विश्वास किया जाता है कि अर्थव्यवस्था का उदारीकरण वंचित समूहों के लिए तबाही नहीं अपितु नई आशा लाएगा।

इसके अतिरिक्त, अंतर्राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर भूमंडलीकरण व्यावसायिक हिस्सेदारों के बीच सहयोग तथा भाईचारा बढ़ाता है। सरकार के बीच भी यह सहयोग में वृद्धि करता है। यह सर्वसम्मति और साझेदारी पर आधारित

एक नवीन विश्व व्यवस्था के निर्माण की कल्पना करता है। ऐसा माना जा रहा है कि यह राष्ट्रों के बीच आदान-प्रदान तथा एक स्थापना के माध्यम से विश्व शांति और मैत्री का युग लाएगा।

भूमंडलीकरण के परिणाम

वर्ष 1999 के संयुक्त राष्ट्र के एक अध्ययन के अनुसार भूमंडलीकरण का युग विश्व के लाखों लोगों के लिए अवसरों का द्वार खोल रहा है। इस अध्ययन का सुझाव है कि इक्कीसवीं शताब्दी में निर्धनता के उन्मूलन के लिए भूमंडलीकरण में बहुत अधिक क्षमता है।

परंतु विकासशील देशों में भूमंडलीकरण के अब तक के अनुभव इस तथ्य की पुष्टि नहीं करते। यह उन देशों के लिए गंभीर खतरा उत्पन्न कर रहा है जो अंतर्राष्ट्रीय प्रतिस्पर्द्धा करने में सक्षम नहीं हैं। भूमंडलीकरण के नकारात्मक परिणाम सकारात्मक परिणामों की अपेक्षा अधिक प्रबल हैं। व्यापार में वृद्धि, नई प्रौद्योगिकी, विदेशी निवेश और इंटरनेट के विस्तार ने निःसंदेह विश्व में आर्थिक विकास की गति को बढ़ाया है, परंतु विभिन्न देशों को आर्थिक विकास का लाभ समान रूप से नहीं मिला है। इस मौलिक कमज़ोरी से कई समस्याएं उत्पन्न हो रही हैं।

भूमंडलीकरण के अंतर्गत आर्थिक प्रक्रिया बाजार के विस्तार से जुड़ी होती है। राष्ट्रीय बाज़ार का विकास बाज़ार के सिद्धांतों के आधार पर विश्व व्यवस्था से एकीकृत होता है। बाज़ार व्यवस्था सदैव मुनाफे की खोज में लगी रहती है। मुक्त प्रतियोगी बाज़ार कार्यकुशलता की गारंटी तो दे सकता है, परंतु अनिवार्य रूप से समानता को सुनिश्चित नहीं रख सकता। अतः बाज़ार व्यवस्था में इन 'अदृश्य हाथों' पर अपार विश्वास विश्व को असहनीय असमानता के अनेक स्तरों की ओर ढकेल रहा है। सही कहा गया है कि 'मानवीय विकास में बाज़ार न तो पहला और न ही अंतिम संदेश है।' कई कार्य और वस्तुएं मानवीय विकास के लिए आवश्यक होती हैं, परंतु आज वे सभी विश्व बाज़ार के दबाव से उपेक्षित हो रहे हैं। यह उन इलाकों में अधिक स्पष्ट है जहां हाल के दशकों में बाज़ार की सीमाएं पहुंची हैं जैसे— अफ्रीका तथा एशिया। फैलते बाज़ार के परिणामस्वरूप शहरों की ओर प्रवसन, नगरीय जीवन की मूल्यहीनता, वृहत परिवारों के विघटन तथा मानवीय प्रेरणा के आधार के रूप में भावुकता के स्थान पर धन आदि जैसी प्रवृत्तियों में बढ़ोत्तरी हुई है।

आज विश्व पूंजीवाद नियंत्रणों से अपेक्षाकृत मुक्त है। परंतु उसे शक्तिशाली पूंजीवादी राष्ट्रों का समर्थन प्राप्त है। अंतर्राष्ट्रीय मुद्रा कोष, विश्व बैंक तथा विश्व व्यापार संगठन जैसे अंतर्राष्ट्रीय आर्थिक संस्थानों ने विश्व पूंजीवाद की विचारधारा को प्रबल बनाया है। ये देश तथा संगठन विश्व बाज़ार के लिए राजनीतिक एवं कानूनी स्थितियों का निर्माण करते हैं। इन स्थितियों के निर्माण के लिए कई कदम उठाए गए हैं — (क) अंतर्राष्ट्रीय व्यापार एवं सेवाओं की बाधाओं का निराकरण, (ख) पूंजी का स्थानांतरण, (ग) संपत्ति के अधिकारों की विश्व के पैमाने पर सुरक्षा, (घ) राज्य की कंपनियों का निजीकरण, (ङ) व्यावसायिक कार्यों का अनियमन, तथा (च) कल्याण सेवाओं को क्रमशः समाप्त करना। इन सभी कदमों ने जनता को आवश्यक सामाजिक सेवाएं प्रदान करने की राष्ट्रों की क्षमता को घटा दिया है। अंतर्राष्ट्रीय मुद्रा कोष तथा विश्व बैंक द्वारा अफ्रीका, एशिया तथा दक्षिण पैसिफिक में लागू किए गए संरचनात्मक समायोजन की नीति का प्रभाव महाविपदा से कम नहीं रहा है। इन देशों ने अपनी जनसंख्या के वंचित समूहों के लिए उपलब्ध शिक्षा, स्वास्थ्य एवं पोषण को घटा दिया है। इन सुविधाओं को केवल

सुविधा प्राप्त व्यक्तियों तक ही सीमित रखा गया है। यहां तक कि यूरोप में भी जहां कल्याणकारी राज्य की अवधारणा का जन्म हुआ था, इन सुविधाओं में कमी आई है।

आज विकासशील देशों के लिए लाभ एवं अवसरों की अपेक्षा खतरे अधिक हैं। रोज़गार पर इसका सबसे अधिक असर पड़ा है। उदाहरण के लिए, एशिया के देशों में जहां 1997-98 मंदी का दौर था, बेरोज़गारी दुगुनी हो गई थी। आज के श्रम-बाज़ार में मज़दूरी सामान्यतः कम है। रोज़गार के लिए तीव्र प्रतिस्पद्र्धा की स्थिति में अधिकांश देशों में श्रमिकों में सौदेबाज़ी की क्षमता कम हो गई है। संपूर्ण लैटिन अमरीका तथा अफ्रीका में जो वास्तविक मज़दूरी बीस वर्ष पहले मिलती थी, वह भी आज नहीं मिल रही है।

रोज़गार के पर्याप्त अवसरों की उत्पत्ति में असफलता के कारण गरीबी घटाने के आसार भी नज़र नहीं आ रहे हैं। गरीबी में रहने वाले लोगों की संख्या 1990 के दशक के मध्य में कुछ घटी थी, परंतु फिर करीब-करीब सभी देशों में यह बढ़नी प्रारंभ हो गई है। इसका कारण यह नहीं है कि संपूर्ण संसार क्रमशः गरीब होता जा रहा है बल्कि कारण यह है कि विकास का लाभ समान रूप से नहीं मिल रहा है। वस्तुतः पिछले दशकों में असमानता में काफी वृद्धि हुई है। विकासशील देशों में धनी लोग सहजता से इस नए वातावरण के साथ सामंजस्य स्थापित कर सकते हैं, परंतु गरीब दिनों-दिन गरीब होते जा रहे हैं।

इसके अतिरिक्त आर्थिक भूमंडलीकरण केवल इसलिए संदेहात्मक नहीं है कि यह राष्ट्रों के बीच आर्थिक संबंधों को जटिल बनाता है, बल्कि यह आर्थिक सत्ता बहुराष्ट्रीय निगमों के हाथ में केंद्रित करता है। आर्थिक सत्ता का यह केंद्रीकरण राजनीतिक एवं सामाजिक सत्ता को भी एकत्र करता है। इस प्रकार भूमंडलीकरण सामान्य नागरिकों के सामाजिक तथा आर्थिक अधिकारों को सीमित करता है। यह सामाजिक नीति पर प्रभाव डालता है तथा राज्य की भूमिका को कम करता है।

इस पृष्ठभूमि में ही राष्ट्रीय अर्थव्यवस्था पर बाह्य शर्तों के थोपे जाने के विरुद्ध जनता के स्तर पर आंदोलन उभरे हैं। विकासशील देशों की जनता कृषि, सेवाओं तथा पेटेंट अधिकारों जैसे सवालों पर चल रहे अंतर्राष्ट्रीय समझौतों से चिंतित है। चिंता इस बात से है कि क्या इन समझौतों में विकासशील देशों के साथ न्याय होगा। ये समझौते एवं अनुबंध जो कि विश्व व्यापार संगठन के तत्वावधान में चल रहे हैं, जो कि विश्व व्यवस्था की कानूनी एवं संस्थागत समिति है। इसके सभी सदस्य देशों (सरकारों) को संगठन के नियमों तथा अनुशासन को मानना आवश्यक है।

उदारीकरण

भूमंडलीकरण उदारीकरण की प्रक्रिया से घनिष्टता से जुड़ा है। उदारीकरण भूमंडलीकरण का आर्थिक तत्त्व है। यह एक प्रक्रिया है जिसके अंतर्गत एक अत्यंत नियंत्रित अर्थव्यवस्था खुली दिखने वाली व्यवस्था के रूप में परिवर्तित की जाती है। नियंत्रण एवं संचालन को कम कर आंतरिक अर्थव्यवस्था को उदार बनाया जाता है। अधिकांश कार्य क्षेत्रों से राज्य का महत्त्व घटा कर निजी उद्यमों तथा कंपनियों के लिए मार्ग प्रशस्त किया जाता है। सार्वजनिक इकाइयों को समाप्त कर व्यवसाय एवं उद्योग का निजीकरण होता है। मूलतः उदारीकरण का विचार इस सोच पर निर्भर है कि यदि राज्य का हस्तक्षेप कम हो तो अर्थव्यवस्था एवं समाज बेहतर बनेगा। इसे 'कम राज्य, अच्छा राज्य' जैसे नारों के द्वारा लोकप्रिय बनाया गया है।

जैसा कि हमने उल्लेख किया है, भूमंडलीकरण की प्रक्रिया विश्व की अर्थव्यवस्थाओं को एक साथ

जोड़ रही है। अर्थव्यवस्थाओं में एकीकरण की इस प्रक्रिया को उदारीकरण तथा निजीकरण के द्वारा सुगम बनाया जाता है। दूसरे शब्दों में, विभिन्न देशों को अपनी अर्थव्यवस्थाओं पर कम-से-कम सरकारी नियंत्रण रख कर उसे उदार बनाना होगा। उदारीकरण की नीति अर्थव्यवस्था की कार्यकुशलता पर ज़ोर डालती है। निजी उद्यमों को सार्वजनिक उद्यमों की तुलना में अधिक निपुण माना जाता है।

भारत में भूमंडलीकरण तथा उदारीकरण की चुनौतियां

आधुनिक दुनिया में भूमंडलीकरण तथा उदारीकरण की प्रक्रियाएं अत्यंत व्यापक एवं गहरा प्रभाव डाल रही हैं। इस स्थिति में भारत भी इन प्रक्रियाओं की चुनौतियों का सामना कर रहा है। वर्ष 1991 से देश में काफी परिवर्तन हुए हैं। नियंत्रित एवं आंतरिक दृष्टि रखनेवाली अर्थव्यवस्था बाह्य दृष्टि वाली हो रही है। अधिकांश कार्यक्षेत्रों में राज्य का स्थान निजी उद्यम ले रहे हैं।

आप इस स्थिति को एक उदाहरण द्वारा ज़्यादा ठीक ढंग से समझ पाएंगे। भारतीय अर्थव्यवस्था ने मिश्रित अर्थव्यवस्था के मॉडल को स्वीकार किया है। इसे मिश्रित इसलिए कहा जाता है, क्योंकि इसके अंतर्गत दो क्षेत्र हैं – निजी तथा सार्वजनिक। सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र पूर्णतः राज्य के नियंत्रण में रहता है, जबकि निजी क्षेत्र में व्यक्तिगत स्वामित्व वाले उद्यम सम्मिलित हैं। भारतीय अर्थव्यवस्था में सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र की महत्त्वपूर्ण भूमिका रही है। अधिकांश कार्यक्षेत्रों में राज्य की उपस्थिति रहती आई है। राज्य का नियंत्रण एवं संचालन व्यापक रहा है और यह कई दृष्टियों से निजी क्षेत्र के उद्योगों को भी प्रभावित करता रहता है। बहुत से लाइसेंसों और परमिटों द्वारा निजी उद्योगों को नियंत्रित किया जाता रहा है। वास्तव में यह तरीका इतना व्यापक रहा है कि इसको अक्सर 'कोटा परमिट राज' कहा जाता था।

संचालन और नियंत्रण की इस व्यवस्था पर उदारीकरण के समय चोट की गई है। भारत में 1991 के आसपास अर्थव्यवस्था में कई संरचनात्मक परिवर्तनों के द्वारा उदारीकरण की प्रक्रिया का शुभारंभ हुआ। नीतिगत सुधारों ने अर्थव्यवस्था को उदार बना दिया है। सुधारों के पहले चरण (1991-94) में व्यापार और उद्योग से नियंत्रण एवं संचालन को विघटित करने पर ध्यान दिया गया है। कर एवं सीमा-शुल्क को घटाया गया है। इन सभी कदमों ने घरेलू तथा विदेशी दोनों निजी निवेशों के लिए उपयुक्त वातावरण का निर्माण किया है। इस प्रकार उदारीकरण के कारण अनुदार अर्थव्यवस्था का उदार एवं निर्यातोन्मुखी अर्थव्यवस्था में रूपांतरण हुआ।

सुधार के दूसरे चरण में उदारीकरण तथा निजीकरण की प्रक्रिया और भी तीव्र हुई है। इस चरण में दो मुख्य बातें हो रही हैं – प्रत्यक्ष विदेशी निवेश को अधिक बढ़ावा दिया जा रहा है तथा सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र के आकार को छोटा किया जा रहा है। भारत एक बड़ा बाज़ार है। सभी प्रकार के परिणामात्मक अवरोधों को 1 अप्रैल 2001 से समाप्त कर दिया गया है और अब बाज़ार विदेशी सामानों के लिए खुला हुआ है। सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र के उद्यमों में न केवल विनिवेश प्रारंभ हो गया है, बल्कि कई निगम निजी उद्यमियों को बेच भी दिए गए हैं।

भारत ने उदारीकरण के बाद का पहला दशक संतोषजनक विकास दर के साथ पूरा कर लिया है। मुद्रास्फीति को नियंत्रित कर लिया गया है। उद्योग अब बाहरी शक्तियों से सुरक्षित नहीं है। हाल में, सूचना तकनीक के क्षेत्र में भारतीय व्यवसायियों की गुणवत्ता सिद्ध हो चुकी है जिनकी मांग विश्व के विकसित देशों में काफी है। यह अपेक्षा

की जा रही है कि आने वाले वर्षों में सूचना तकनीक से संबंधित सेवाओं से अर्थव्यवस्था को काफी बढ़ावा मिलेगा।

उदारीकरण के समय की उपलब्धियों के होते हुए भी आगे संकटपूर्ण चुनौतियां खड़ी हैं। गरीबी सबसे महत्त्वपूर्ण चुनौती के रूप में कायम है। करीब 26.10 प्रतिशत लोग आज भी गरीबी रेखा के नीचे हैं। रोज़गार की स्थिति भयंकर एवं गंभीर बनी हुई है। पिछले दशक में नौकरियों से काफी छंटनी हुई है, क्योंकि कंपनियों ने अपने आकार को या तो लघु बनाया है या प्रतिस्पर्द्धा की कठोरता का सामना करने के लिए वे एक-दूसरे से मिल गए हैं। यह तब हो रहा है जब भारतीय अर्थव्यवस्था पर्याप्त रोज़गार देने में समर्थ नहीं है। पूर्ण रोज़गार, संपूर्ण साक्षरता, प्राथमिक शिक्षा, स्वास्थ्य सेवा और सभी नागरिकों के जीवन स्तर की गुणवत्ता में सुधार जैसे चुनौती भरे कार्यों को पूरा करना अभी शेष है।

निजीकरण महिलाओं को कई दृष्टियों से प्रभावित कर रहा है। कृषि एवं उद्योग में परिष्कृत तकनीक के प्रवेश ने रोज़गार के अवसरों को घटाना प्रारंभ कर दिया है। भारत में महिलाएं हस्तकला एवं गृह उद्योगों में लाभदायक ढंग से कार्य करती रही हैं। वे मुख्य रूप से असंगठित क्षेत्र में काम करती रही हैं। आर्थिक उदारीकरण ने इस क्षेत्र को भी प्रभावित किया है। यह क्षेत्र स्थानीय बाज़ारों में यंत्रचालित उत्पादों एवं इन उत्पादों के बड़े उत्पादकों के प्रवेश से जोखिम में पड़ गया है।

इस परिस्थिति में आज भूमंडलीकरण की चुनौती यह है कि किस प्रकार नियमों एवं संस्थाओं को सशक्त बना कर विश्व बाज़ार के लाभों को सुरक्षित रखा जाए। इन संस्थाओं को रूपांतरित करते समय देश को मानवीय एवं सामुदायिक संसाधनों के लिए पर्याप्त गुंजाइश छोड़नी होगी। यह सुनिश्चित करना आवश्यक है कि भूमंडलीकरण जनता के लिए है, क्योंकि भूमंडलीकरण से उत्पन्न खतरे एवं चुनौतियों के बावजूद कोई भी देश भूमंडलीकरण के अभियान को रोकने में सक्षम नहीं हो पाएगा।

शब्दावली

भू-धारण या काश्तकारी : भूमि अथवा अन्य संपत्ति का कानूनी अधिकार। यह राज्य एवं प्रशासन को राजस्व एकत्रित करने में सहायक होता है। रैयतवाड़ी, महलवाड़ी एवं जमींदारी भू-धारण की व्यवस्थाएं थीं जो कि स्वतंत्रता पूर्व भारत में थीं।

उत्पादन का अंतर्राष्ट्रीयकरण: बहुदेशीय कंपनियों द्वारा उत्पादन का दुनिया के विभिन्न भागों में वितरण।

भूमंडलीय ग्राम : व्यवसाय एवं संबंधों को बढ़ाने के लिए विभिन्न देशों में तकनीकी रूप से विकसित कंपनियों एवं उद्यमों की स्थापना जो कि पूरे विश्व को एक वैश्विक ग्राम में बदल रही है।

सामाजिक शक्ति (अधिकार) : यह वैश्वीकरण की अवधारणा से जुड़ी हुई है और सामान्य नागरिकों के सामाजिक एवं आर्थिक अधिकारों को सीमित करती हैं।

विश्व व्यापार संगठन (W.T.O.): यह एक अंतर्राष्ट्रीय संगठन है जिसे संयुक्त राष्ट्र के सदस्य देशों ने स्थापित किया है। यह सन 1995 में स्थापित हुआ और इसका मुख्यालय जेनेवा में है। यह विभिन्न कानूनों एवं नीतियों द्वारा अंतर्राष्ट्रीय व्यापार एवं सेवाओं का नियमन करता है।

निर्यातोन्मुखी आर्थिकी : इस आर्थिकी में अधिकांश उत्पादन निर्यात व्यापार एवं सेवाओं के लिए किया जाता है। बहुत से देश इस नीति को अधिक विदेशी मुद्रा अर्जित करने के लिए अपनाते हैं। यह देश की आवश्यकताओं को एवं पूंजी की कमी को पूरा करने में सहायक होता है।

अभ्यास प्रश्न

1. भूमंडलीकरण से आप क्या समझते हैं ?
2. भूमंडलीकरण के सकारात्मक एवं नकारात्मक प्रभावों की विवेचना कीजिए।
3. सज्जन किसानों के उदय के कारणों की विवेचना कीजिए।
4. पूंजीपति किसान कौन हैं ?
5. मध्यम जातीय किसानों की विशेषताएं क्या हैं ?
6. उदारीकरण पर एक संक्षिप्त लेख लिखिए।

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अध्याय 7

शिक्षा और सामाजिक परिवर्तन

संस्कृति समाज का सीखा हुआ पहलू है। यह सामाजिक संपत्ति है और समाज के सभी सदस्य इसके भागीदार होते हैं। इन सांस्कृतिक तत्त्वों को शिक्षा द्वारा सुरक्षित रखा जाता है और इन्हें एक व्यक्ति से दूसरे व्यक्ति तक तथा एक पीढ़ी से दूसरी पीढ़ी तक प्रसारित किया जाता है। इस प्रकार संस्कृति तथा शिक्षा के बीच प्रत्यक्ष संबंध है। संस्कृति समाज को विशिष्ट बनाती है, जबकि शिक्षा इसे पोषित करती है। समाज में शिक्षा की महत्त्वपूर्ण भूमिका है। यह सामाजिक परिवर्तन के प्रवर्तक का कार्य संपादित करती है। यह न केवल नए विचारों तथा मूल्यों को जन्म देती है, बल्कि इन्हें शिक्षा द्वारा युवा पीढ़ी तक प्रसारित भी करती है। इस अध्याय में हम शिक्षा तथा सामाजिक परिवर्तन के संबंध की विवेचना करेंगे।

समाज और शिक्षा

समाज की आवश्यकताओं से शिक्षा की उत्पत्ति होती है। समाज का अस्तित्व व्यक्ति के जीवन से कहीं अधिक लंबा होता है। समय के अंतराल में एक व्यक्ति समाप्त हो जाता है, किंतु समाज का अस्तित्व बना रहता है और जन्म द्वारा नए सदस्य इसमें जुड़ते जाते हैं। अतः हर समाज एक इकाई के रूप में साथ रहने की कोशिश करता है और एक जीवन-पद्धति विकसित करता है। अपनी जीवन-पद्धति को निरंतर सुरक्षित रखने के लिए समूह के सदस्य, समूह के रीति-रिवाजों, ज्ञान तथा कौशल का प्रशिक्षण अपने बच्चों को देते हैं। शिक्षा यह कार्य संपन्न करती है। नए विचारों के विकास तथा बदलते परिवेश के साथ सामंजस्य बनाए रखने के लिए लोगों को शिक्षा ही प्रशिक्षित करती है।

शिक्षा में माता-पिता और परिवार की भूमिका अनौपचारिक होती है। इससे अधिक औपचारिक शिक्षा सामाजिक समूह तथा सामुदायिक माध्यमों से दी जाती है। विद्यालय सबसे अधिक औपचारिक शिक्षा प्रदान करते हैं, क्योंकि इस कार्य के लिए ही इनकी स्थापना होती है। अतः विशेष शिक्षा देने हेतु विद्यालय एक सामाजिक आवश्यकता बन गए हैं। यह व्यापक स्तर पर ज्ञान के संग्रह और प्रसारण को संभव बनाते हैं जो पूर्व में असंभव था।

इस प्रकार शिक्षा अनेक सामाजिक कार्य संपन्न करती है। इसका क्षेत्र परिवार में समाजीकरण की भूमिका से लेकर आर्थिक संगठन, सामाजिक स्तरीकरण तथा राजनीतिक विचारों तक व्याप्त है।

प्रत्येक समाज में बच्चों के समाजीकरण की प्रक्रिया परिवार से प्रारंभ होती है। एक सरल समाज में कौशल और ज्ञान सीधा तथा सामान्य होता है, व्यावसायिक भूमिका भी बच्चे घर में ही सीखते हैं। दूसरी ओर, आधुनिक जटिल समाजों में व्यावसायिक ढांचे में परिवर्तन से स्थिति काफी बदल गई है। बच्चों को जटिल कौशल और विशिष्ट कार्यों की शिक्षा

परिवार में नहीं दी जा सकती है। अतः परिवार की भूमिका केवल प्राथमिक समाजीकरण तक ही सीमित हो जाती है। औपचारिक शैक्षणिक संस्थाएं द्वितीय रूप में समाजीकरण के कार्यों को संपन्न करती हैं। शिक्षा मानदंडों, मूल्यों, विश्वासों, विचारों और सामाजिक कौशलों को समाजीकरण द्वारा नई पीढ़ी तक हस्तांतरित करती है। छात्र जो भी विद्यालय में सीखते हैं वह समाज की सांस्कृतिक विरासत का हिस्सा है। सीखने की यह प्रक्रिया समाज के तरुण सदस्यों के व्यक्तित्व का गठन तथा विकास करती है।

शैक्षणिक व्यवस्था सामाजिक स्तरीकरण को कई दृष्टियों से प्रभावित करती है। आप यह जानते हैं कि जाति व्यवस्था एक बंद स्तरीकरण का उदाहरण है, जबकि वर्ग एक खुली व्यवस्था का। बंद व्यवस्था में प्रस्थिति जन्म द्वारा प्रदत्त होती है, किंतु खुली व्यवस्था में सामान्यतः व्यक्ति प्रस्थिति को अर्जित करता है। स्तरीकरण की बंद व्यवस्था संस्थागत विषमता पैदा करती है, किंतु आधुनिक समाज इस प्रकार की विषमता का विरोध करते हैं। यहीं शिक्षा की भूमिका अहम हो जाती है। आधुनिक शिक्षा समता, स्वतंत्रता और वैज्ञानिक प्रकृति जैसे उदारवादी मूल्यों को प्रोत्साहित करती है। यह विषमता, सामाजिक वंचना और अन्य सभी प्रकार के भेदभावों के विरुद्ध चेतना जाग्रत करती है। इस प्रकार शिक्षा लोगों को स्तरीकरण की बंद व्यवस्था को समाप्त करने के लिए सशक्त बनाती है और इसे सामाजिक बदलाव के लिए खोलती है। इसके अतिरिक्त, नए व्यावसायिक अवसरों का निर्माण कर आधुनिक शिक्षा व्यावसायिक गतिशीलता को सुगम बनाती है।

राजनीतिक व्यवस्था एक दूसरा महत्वपूर्ण आयाम है जिसमें शिक्षा की अहम भूमिका होती है। राजनीतिक व्यवस्था शैक्षणिक व्यवस्था को प्रत्यक्ष रूप से प्रभावित करती है तथा साथ ही शिक्षण व्यवस्था भी राजनीतिक व्यवस्था पर प्रभाव डालती है। दूसरे शब्दों में, विचारधारा, मूल्य तथा लक्ष्य भी तत्कालीन राजनीति को प्रभावित करते हैं। आधुनिक काल में शिक्षा के विकास के कारण ही प्रजातंत्र, समाजवाद, पंथ निरपेक्षता और सामाजिक न्याय जैसे आदर्श फले-फूले हैं। उदाहरण के लिए, भारत में काफी हद तक शिक्षित एवं जाग्रत लोगों ने ही स्वतंत्रता संग्राम की शिक्षा दी थी।

शैक्षणिक व्यवस्था आर्थिक व्यवस्था में विविधता लाती है। हाल तक अर्थशास्त्रियों ने शिक्षा के आर्थिक महत्व को स्वीकार नहीं किया था, परंतु अब उन लोगों ने भी आर्थिक विकास के लिए शिक्षा को एक कारक मान लिया। 'मानव संसाधन विकास' जैसे शब्दों के प्रयोग और लोकप्रियता के पीछे यही विचार है। शिक्षा व्यवस्था विभिन्न व्यवसायों के लिए उपयुक्त कौशल तथा प्रशिक्षण प्रदान करती है। यह शिक्षा तथा कौशल के आधार पर युवाओं को विभिन्न पदों के लिए तैयार करती है। विशिष्ट आर्थिक आवश्यकताओं के कारण ही विभिन्न देशों में शिक्षा की भिन्न-भिन्न प्राथमिकताएं होती हैं। इस लक्ष्य की पूर्ति के लिए शिक्षा में निवेश को मानव संसाधन के विकास का माध्यम माना जाता है जिससे आर्थिक विकास तेज़ हो सके।

उपर्युक्त विवेचना से स्पष्ट है कि शिक्षा न केवल सामाजिक परिवर्तन को प्रभावित करती है, बल्कि अनेक दृष्टियों से आधुनिकीकरण के एक घटक के रूप में भी कार्य करती है।

शिक्षा और सामाजिक परिवर्तन

हमने ऊपर इस तथ्य की चर्चा की है कि किस प्रकार शिक्षा सामाजिक जीवन के विभिन्न पक्षों को प्रभावित करती है। इस अर्थ में यह न केवल सामाजिक परिवर्तन को प्रभावित करती है, बल्कि सामाजिक

परिवर्तन के एक घटक के रूप में भी क्रियाशील रहती है। शिक्षा अपने को अधिक-से-अधिक रचनात्मक कार्यों में लगाए रखती है और परिवर्तन के प्रवर्तक का कार्य संपन्न कर सकती है। जो भी परिवर्तन समाज के पुनर्निर्माण के लिए वांछनीय हैं उन्हें युवा पीढ़ी के मन में बैठाना शिक्षा का कार्य है। इसके अतिरिक्त, यह लोगों को परिवर्तन की चुनौतियों से जूझने के लिए बौद्धिक एवं भावात्मक रूप से तैयार करती है।

शिक्षा आधुनिकीकरण का एक महत्त्वपूर्ण कारक है। आधुनिकीकरण के लक्ष्य की प्राप्ति के लिए सामाजिक, आर्थिक तथा राजनीतिक क्षेत्रों में संबंधित आधुनिक मूल्यों को लोगों के मन में बैठाना आवश्यक होता है। समानता, स्वतंत्रता, वैज्ञानिक दृष्टि, मानवतावाद तथा अंध विश्वास के विरुद्ध विचार जैसे मूल्यों से आधुनिकीकरण का मार्ग प्रशस्त होता है। शिक्षा के माध्यम से यह कार्य कारगर ढंग से संपन्न हो सकता है।

भारत में शिक्षा तथा आधुनिकीकरण

प्रारंभिक स्थिति

प्राचीन भारत में शिक्षा दैनिक जीवन के कार्यकलापों के माध्यम से परिवार, स्वजन समूह तथा संपूर्ण समाज द्वारा दी जाती थी। परंतु समय के अंतराल में आवश्यकता तथा क्रियाकलापों में वृद्धि के कारण सुव्यवस्थित शिक्षण प्रारंभ हुआ और शिक्षकों का एक विशेष व्यावसायिक समूह तैयार हुआ। इस प्रकार औपचारिक शिक्षण व्यवस्था की शुरुआत हुई। शिक्षा प्रदान करने का काम ब्राह्मण करते थे। ब्राह्मण औपचारिक शिक्षक थे और ज्ञान एवं पांडित्य के भंडार माने जाते थे। शिक्षा व्यवस्था विद्वान शिक्षकों को केंद्र में रखकर कार्य करती थी और शिक्षा पद्धति प्रत्येक विद्यार्थी की भूमिका पर महत्त्व देती थी। यह शिक्षा व्यवस्था आदेश की अपेक्षा जीवन पर अधिक बल देती थी। इस प्रकार विभिन्न केंद्रों में पाठ्यक्रम अलग-अलग हुआ करते थे। धार्मिक विचारों का प्रसार तथा पवित्र ग्रंथों की व्याख्या गुरुकुल एवं विद्यालयों के प्रमुख कार्य थे। हालांकि इस शिक्षा व्यवस्था की सुविधा आबादी के छोटे भाग को ही उपलब्ध थी जिनका वर्ण क्रम में ऊंचा स्थान था। यह व्यवस्था आगे चलकर सामाजिक और आर्थिक परिवर्तन के दबाव से समाप्त हो गई।

ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से भारत में आधुनिक शिक्षा का सूत्रपात ब्रिटिश शासन की स्थापना के साथ हुआ। प्रारंभ में ब्रिटिश शासकों ने पारंपरिक विद्यालयों का समर्थन कर इनके विस्तार एवं विकास को प्रोत्साहित किया। परंतु उन्नीसवीं सदी के मध्य में औपनिवेशिक नीति में परिवर्तन हुआ और भारत में यूरोपीय साहित्य एवं विज्ञान के अध्ययन का निर्णय लिया गया। उच्च शिक्षा के लिए अंग्रेजी को माध्यम बना दिया गया। इस नीति ने उच्च एवं मध्य वर्गों के बीच शिक्षा को केंद्रित रखा। उपयुक्त प्राथमिक शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में प्रगति कम ही हुई। एक आकलन के अनुसार सन 1881-82 में 5 से 12 आयु वर्ग के 10 बालकों में 1 और 250 बालिकाओं में 1 स्कूल जाते थे। बीसवीं शताब्दी के प्रारंभ में लगभग 90 प्रतिशत लोग निरक्षर थे। इस प्रकार, शिक्षा व्यवस्था ने न केवल ऊंचे वर्गों तथा जन सामान्य के बीच की दूरी को कायम रखा, बल्कि इसे और भी बढ़ा दिया।

इस अवधि की शिक्षा नीति में कई महत्त्वपूर्ण कमियां थीं। प्राथमिक शिक्षा की तुलना में उच्च शिक्षा पर अधिक ज़ोर दिया गया। विद्यालयों की अपेक्षा महाविद्यालयों तथा विश्वविद्यालयों में नामांकन ऊंची दर से बढ़े। फलस्वरूप, शिक्षा के माध्यम से आधुनिकीकरण शिक्षित तथा अभिजात समूहों तक ही सीमित रहा जो अधिकतर ऊंची जातियों के सदस्य थे। इसने मुश्किल से जनसमूह को प्रभावित किया।

इसके बावजूद औपनिवेशिक शासन काल में आरंभ की गई शिक्षा व्यवस्था में अनेक गुण थे। इसने शिक्षा व्यवस्था को मौलिक रूप से एक नई दिशा दी और भारत में आधुनिक शिक्षा की नींव रखी। इसकी विषय-वस्तु उदारवादी तथा आधुनिक थी। विज्ञान, प्रौद्योगिकी तथा चिकित्सा जैसे कई नए विषयों का अध्यापन प्रारंभ हुआ जिसने आधुनिकीकरण के लिए एक उपयुक्त वातावरण का निर्माण किया। शिक्षण संस्थानों की संरचना व्यावसायिक स्तर पर विकसित की गई। संस्थाओं को प्राथमिक विद्यालय, उच्च विद्यालय, महाविद्यालय एवं विश्वविद्यालय की श्रेणियों में विभक्त किया गया। संस्थानों का यह ढांचा स्वतंत्रता के पश्चात भी रहा।

स्वतंत्रता और उसके बाद

भारत में विगत पचपन वर्षों के दौरान शिक्षा में आश्चर्यजनक प्रगति हुई है। संपूर्ण तथा तुलनात्मक दोनों दृष्टियों से यह उपलब्धि विलक्षण है। यह तथ्य और भी स्पष्ट हो जाता है जब हम आज की स्थिति की तुलना स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के समय से करते हैं। हमें जो शिक्षा व्यवस्था विरासत में मिली उसका राष्ट्रीय आवश्यकताओं तथा आकांक्षाओं से कोई रिश्ता नहीं था। यह गणनात्मक दृष्टि से कम तथा गुणात्मक दृष्टि से अपर्याप्त थी। देश की जनसंख्या में लगभग 14 प्रतिशत लोग ही साक्षर थे। तीन बच्चों में से मात्र एक प्राथमिक विद्यालय में नामांकित था। नामांकन तथा साक्षरता के निम्न स्तर के अतिरिक्त शिक्षा व्यवस्था में क्षेत्रीय एवं लैंगिक असमानताएं विद्यमान थीं। इस व्यवस्था के समक्ष न केवल शिक्षा के प्रसार की समस्या थी, बल्कि गतिहीनता तथा कमियां भी गंभीर थीं। व्यावसायिक शिक्षा का अभाव था और भारतीय समाज की सामाजिक तथा सांस्कृतिक आवश्यकताओं से इसका कोई संबंध नहीं था।

स्वतंत्रता के पश्चात यह स्वीकार किया गया कि शिक्षा आधुनिकीकरण की प्रक्रिया का अनिवार्य पक्ष है। अतः राष्ट्रीय विकास की कार्य सूची में शैक्षणिक सुधार को महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थान मिला। वस्तुतः एक संवैधानिक तथा नीतिगत ढांचे का निर्माण हुआ। विभिन्न सफल पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं ने शैक्षणिक विकास के कई कार्यक्रमों को प्रारंभ कर इस लक्ष्य को आगे बढ़ाया।

भारत की शैक्षणिक रूपरेखा का निर्धारण सबसे पहले साक्षरता के संदर्भ में कर सकते हैं। वर्ष 1951 में साक्षरता दर 18.3 प्रतिशत थी जो 1991 की जनगणना में बढ़कर 52.2 प्रतिशत हो गई। अब यह वर्ष 2001 की जनगणना के अनुसार 65.38 प्रतिशत हो चुकी है। पुरुष साक्षरता दर 75.85 प्रतिशत है, जबकि महिलाओं में यह केवल 54.16 प्रतिशत है। इन आंकड़ों से स्पष्ट है कि साक्षरता के क्षेत्र में भारत ने अभूतपूर्व प्रगति की है। यह एक महत्त्वपूर्ण तथ्य है कि विगत दशक में पहली बार निरक्षरों की संख्या में लगभग 3.19 करोड़ की कमी आई है। दूसरा, महिला साक्षरता दर 14.87 प्रतिशत बढ़ी है जबकि पुरुषों में यह दर 11.72 प्रतिशत है। साक्षरता दर में प्रगति के मुख्यतः दो कारण रहे हैं। प्रथम, सरकार द्वारा प्रायोजित राष्ट्रीय साक्षरता अभियान। इस अभियान को विकेंद्रित किया गया, जिससे इसकी उपयोगिता बढ़ी। द्वितीय, गैर-सरकारी संगठनों की सहभागिता के कारण साक्षरता अभियान अधिक लचीला हो गया है।

प्राथमिक शिक्षा का विस्तार और समेकन भी प्रशंसनीय है। प्राथमिक शिक्षा का सार्वभौमीकरण एक राष्ट्रीय लक्ष्य के रूप में स्वीकार किया गया है। इस कार्यक्रम का उद्देश्य सभी तक शिक्षा को पहुंचाने, उन्हें विद्यालय में बनाए रखने की उपलब्धि पर निर्भर है। अब देश की ग्रामीण आबादी के 94 प्रतिशत लोगों के लिए करीब एक किलोमीटर के अंदर

प्राथमिक विद्यालय उपलब्ध हैं। उच्च प्राथमिक स्तर पर 84 प्रतिशत ग्रामीण आबादी के लिए 3 किलोमीटर के अंदर विद्यालय हैं। प्राथमिक स्तर में नामांकन 1950-51 के 42.60 प्रतिशत से बढ़कर 1999-2000 में 94.90 प्रतिशत हो गया है। इसी तरह प्राथमिक तथा माध्यमिक विद्यालयों की संख्या 1950-51 में 2.23 लाख से बढ़कर 1999-2000 में 8.39 लाख हो गई है। इस अवधि में इन विद्यालयों में शिक्षकों की संख्या 6.24 लाख से बढ़कर 32.17 लाख हो गई है।

प्राथमिक शिक्षा के सार्वभौमिकरण के लिए सर्व शिक्षा अभियान के नाम से एक नई योजना मिशन के तौर पर प्रारंभ की गई है। इस अभियान का उद्देश्य 6 से 14 वर्ष के आयु वर्ग के सभी बच्चों को वर्ष 2003 तक विद्यालय भेजना है जिससे वर्ष 2007 तक वे पांच वर्षों की प्राथमिक शिक्षा तथा वर्ष 2010 तक आठ वर्षों की विद्यालयी शिक्षा पूरी कर सकें।

माध्यमिक शिक्षा, प्राथमिक तथा उच्च शिक्षा के मध्य सेतु का कार्य करती है। यह 14 से 18 आयु वर्ग के तरुणों को उच्च शिक्षा में प्रवेश के लिए तैयार करती है। देश में सन 1999 में 1.10 लाख माध्यमिक तथा उच्चतर माध्यमिक विद्यालय थे। कुल मिलाकर इन संस्थानों में 272 लाख छात्र नामांकित थे जिनमें 101 लाख बालिकाएं थीं। इन विद्यालयों में सन 1999 में 15.42 लाख शिक्षक थे। सन 1998 से माध्यमिक स्तर पर व्यावसायिक शिक्षा का समावेश किया गया है।

उच्च शिक्षा संस्थानों का विस्तार भी काफी हुआ है। स्वतंत्रता के समय देश में केवल 18 विश्वविद्यालय थे, परंतु आज विश्वविद्यालयों की संख्या 259 हो गई है। महाविद्यालयों की संख्या 11,089 है तथा 1119 स्वशासी महाविद्यालय हैं। तकनीकी और व्यावसायिक संस्थानों का विकास भी अद्वितीय रहा है। वर्तमान में 7000 शिक्षक शिक्षा महाविद्यालय, 110 पॉलिटेकनिक, 600 प्रबंधन संस्थान, 550 इंजीनियरिंग महाविद्यालय और 170 चिकित्सा महाविद्यालय हैं।

शिक्षा के अवसरों का विस्तार तथा प्रसार के अतिरिक्त शिक्षा के द्वारा महिलाओं की स्थिति में सुधार के विशेष प्रयास हुए हैं। ऐसा विश्वास किया जाता है कि महिला सशक्तीकरण, विकास की प्रक्रिया में उनकी सहभागिता की अनिवार्य शर्त है। बालिकाएं अब लक्ष्य-समूह बन गई हैं। उसी प्रकार, अनुसूचित जातियों तथा जनजातियों के शैक्षणिक विकास पर विशेष ध्यान दिया गया है।

शैक्षणिक रूपरेखा का उपर्युक्त वर्णन आकर्षक है, किंतु वास्तविक उपलब्धि लक्ष्य से काफी कम है। राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा नीति में 14 वर्ष की आयु तक के सभी बच्चों के लिए निःशुल्क एवं अनिवार्य शिक्षा पर बल दिया गया है। परंतु आज भी प्राथमिक शिक्षा सभी को उपलब्ध नहीं हो पाई है।

भारतीय समाज में शिक्षा के प्रसार से व्यापक परिवर्तन हुए हैं। 'वर्गीय शिक्षा' (कुछ लोगों के लिए शिक्षा) से 'जन शिक्षा' (सभी के लिए शिक्षा) की ओर बढ़ने से शैक्षणिक व्यवस्था में असीमित प्रवेश के द्वार खुल गए हैं। वे समूह तथा समुदाय जो शिक्षा से वंचित थे, अब विकास की मुख्य धारा से जुड़ गए हैं। शिक्षा ने न केवल समानता और मानवता जैसे सार्वभौमिक मूल्यों का प्रसार किया है, अपितु इसने वैज्ञानिक विश्व दृष्टि को भी लोगों तक पहुंचाया है। जन सामान्य के दृष्टिकोण और मनोवृत्ति को बदलने में शिक्षा एक अत्यंत महत्त्वपूर्ण कारक रही है।

शिक्षा के गणनात्मक विस्तार ने इसे देश के कोने-कोने तक पहुंचा दिया है। इसने शिक्षा के प्रति लंबे समय से आ रही जड़ता तथा भेदभाव को झकझोर दिया है। महिलाओं के बीच साक्षरता एवं

शिक्षा का असाधारण विकास अभूतपूर्व है। इसके फलस्वरूप महिलाओं के विचारों में क्रांतिकारी परिवर्तन हुआ है। परिवार के भीतर और बाहर उनकी प्रस्थिति में सुधार आया है तथा उनका आर्थिक योगदान भी सुस्पष्ट है। बालक एवं बालिकाओं के प्रति विचारों में भेदभाव अब पहले की तरह प्रभावशाली नहीं है। महिलाओं की भूमिका के प्रति समाज की मनोवृत्ति में बदलाव ने इन्हें ऐसे कई व्यवसायों में प्रवेश के लिए योग्य बनाया है, जो पहले उनके लिए बंद थे।

शिक्षा के प्रसार के फलस्वरूप अनुसूचित जातियों तथा जनजातियों के सदस्यों में गतिशीलता बढ़ी है। किंतु इस क्षेत्र में स्थिति संतोषजनक नहीं है। इन वंचित समूहों की समस्याएं इतनी गहराई तक जा चुकी हैं कि इनका समाधान सामाजिक व्यवस्था में आमूल-चूल परिवर्तन के बगैर संभव नहीं है, फिर भी दलित वर्गों के लिए समान अवसर के साथ-साथ विशेष अवसर की राष्ट्रीय नीति ने सकारात्मक असर दिखाया है। इन समुदायों के सदस्यों ने शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में काफी सफलता पाई है। साक्षरता बढ़ी है और काफी हद तक प्राथमिक एवं माध्यमिक विद्यालयों में नामांकन में भी सुधार हुआ है, परंतु उच्च शिक्षा में इनकी उपस्थिति अभी भी कम है। उच्च शिक्षा के सभी क्षेत्रों में लगभग ऊंची जातियों का वर्चस्व कायम है।

अब तक यह स्पष्ट हो जाना चाहिए कि शिक्षा भारतीय समाज को आधुनिक बनाने में एक मजबूत शक्ति के रूप में क्रियाशील रही है। यह लोगों की विश्वदृष्टि को बदल रही है। विज्ञान के विवेकपूर्ण सिद्धांत पर आधारित शिक्षण संस्थानों का विकास ही आधुनिकीकरण की अभिव्यक्ति है। वंचित तथा दलित लोगों में शिक्षा के प्रति बढ़ती ललक उनकी आकांक्षाओं के स्तर में परिवर्तन का द्योतक है। इस तथ्य ने शिक्षा व्यवस्था पर अतिरिक्त उत्तरदायित्व सौंप दिया है। स्वतंत्रता के समय तक यह केवल उच्च और मध्यम वर्गों की आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति करती थी, किंतु स्वतंत्रता के बाद इस स्थिति में महत्त्वपूर्ण परिवर्तन हुए हैं। सभी स्तरों पर निम्न जातियों के बच्चों ने शिक्षण संस्थानों में काफी संख्या में प्रवेश लिया है। उनकी आकांक्षा तथा क्षमता भिन्न है। फलस्वरूप, इस स्थिति को संभालने के लिए विशेष प्रयासों की आवश्यकता है। उनकी प्रतिभा और सामर्थ्य को उभारने के लिए एक नए दृष्टिकोण की ज़रूरत है जिससे उनकी शैक्षणिक आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति की जा सके।

शिक्षा से गतिशीलता का स्तर एवं मात्रा दोनों प्रभावित हुए हैं। भारत में हुए अध्ययनों से ज्ञात होता है कि सामान्यत: जातीय स्तर पर गतिशीलता सामाजिक-सांस्कृतिक क्षेत्रों तथा पवित्रता एवं अपवित्रता के प्रभाव-क्षेत्र में ही परिचालित होती है। ये परिवर्तन समूह विशेष की प्रथा, व्यवहार, व्यवसाय, शिक्षा और आय में हो रहे परिवर्तनों से प्रतिबिंबित होते हैं। यद्यपि इन परिवर्तनों से स्तरीकरण की संरचना में बड़े पैमाने पर परिवर्तन नहीं हुआ, तथापि कुछ परिवार और परिवारों के समूह जातियों के भीतर ही अन्य कुछ जातियों की तुलना में अपनी प्रस्थिति ऊंची कर सकते हैं। हम यहां इस तथ्य पर जोर देना चाहते हैं कि शिक्षा ने व्यक्ति के स्तर में गतिशीलता लाने में महत्त्वपूर्ण भूमिका अदा की है, जो धीरे-धीरे समूह स्तर पर फैल रही है। जाति से मुक्त व्यवसायों की संख्या में वृद्धि निश्चित रूप से देश में शिक्षा की प्रगति का परिणाम है। व्यवसायों से जुड़ी प्रतिष्ठा में शिक्षा भी एक तत्त्व है। शिक्षा की मुख्य भूमिका यह निर्धारित करने में होती है कि व्यक्ति किस व्यवसाय को उपार्जित करेगा और उसकी आय का क्या स्तर होगा।

जब हम स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के बाद भारत में शिक्षा की प्रगति को भव्यता से हटकर देखते हैं तब हमें

भारतीय शिक्षा व्यवस्था में व्याप्त वर्तमान समस्याओं का सामना करना पड़ता है। स्तर, विषय-वस्तु और शिक्षा का सामाजिक उद्देश्य जैसी समस्याएं हमारी शिक्षा व्यवस्था के मूल में हैं। इन समस्याओं पर गंभीरता से चर्चा करनी होगी और व्यवस्था को अधिक प्रभावी एवं आकर्षक बनाने के लिए उपाय ढूंढ़ने होंगे। राष्ट्र ने देश के सामाजिक और आर्थिक विकास में शिक्षा के महत्त्व को स्वीकार किया है, अतः देश की शैक्षिक योजना को इस दिशा में कार्रवाई करनी होगी। भारतीय शिक्षा आयोग, 1966 ने अपनी 'शिक्षा तथा राष्ट्रीय विकास' नामक रिपोर्ट में ज़ोर देकर कहा है कि "शिक्षा पर अलग हट कर विचार नहीं किया जा सकता अथवा शून्य में इसकी योजना नहीं बनाई जा सकती। इसे सामाजिक, आर्थिक एवं राजनीतिक परिवर्तन के शक्तिशाली हथियार के रूप में इस्तेमाल करना होगा ...।"

शब्दावली

शिक्षा : शिक्षा सामाजिक परिवर्तन की कारक है। यह लोगों को नए विचारों को विकसित करने और परिवर्तित पर्यावरण में समायोजन के लिए प्रशिक्षण देती है।

अभ्यास प्रश्न

1. शिक्षा का अर्थ बताइए।
2. शिक्षा के मूल प्रकार्य क्या हैं?
3. संस्कृति और शिक्षा के बीच क्या संबंध है?
4. शिक्षा किस प्रकार सामाजिक परिवर्तन की कारक है ?
5. सामाजिक स्तरीकरण की खुली एवं बंद व्यवस्था में अंतर कीजिए।
6. भारत में सामाजिक परिवर्तन लाने में शिक्षा की भूमिका की व्याख्या कीजिए।

संदर्भ-ग्रंथ

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अध्याय 8

जन संचार और सांस्कृतिक परिवर्तन

हम लोग सूचना-क्रांति युग में रह रहे हैं। जितनी मात्रा में सूचनाएं उत्पन्न हो रही हैं उन पर सहसा विश्वास नहीं होता और वे स्वप्न से भी परे हैं। मूलत: यह सूचना प्रौद्योगिकी में क्रांति का परिणाम है। दूरसंचार, टेलीविजन और कंप्यूटर एक साथ मिल गए हैं। इन सभी प्रौद्योगिकियों का योग सूचना और संचार प्रौद्योगिकी कहलाता है। इसमें जन सामान्य के जीवन के विभिन्न पक्षों को परिवर्तित करने की भारी क्षमता है। ऐसी परिस्थिति में यदि लोगों के कल्याण के लिए सूचनाओं का इस्तेमाल होता है तब इनका प्रसारण आवश्यक है। सूचना प्रसारण का यह कार्य जन संचार द्वारा निष्पादित होता है।

बोलचाल में जन संचार का अर्थ है रेडियो, टेलीविजन, मुद्रित सामग्री और फिल्म जैसे साधन जिनका काम अधिक-से-अधिक लोगों तक सूचना पहुंचाना है। 'जन' शब्द का प्रयोग यहां किसी समुदाय, समूह अथवा देश में अधिकांश लोगों के अर्थ में किया गया है, न कि किसी खास वर्ग या श्रेणी के लोगों के लिए। जन का यह अभिप्राय बताता है कि जन संचार दूसरी तरह के संचारों से अलग है क्योंकि यह कुछ व्यक्तियों अथवा आबादी के किसी विशेष भाग को नहीं बल्कि आबादी के सभी भागों को संबोधित करता है। इसे जन संचार इसलिए भी कहते हैं क्योंकि इन माध्यमों से जनता के लिए एक साथ सूचनाएं प्रसारित होती हैं।

हाल में इस विषय की विवेचना में दो शब्द – जन संचार और जन संवाद (मास मीडिया और मास कॅम्यूनिकेशन) का व्यवहार साथ-साथ हो रहा है। कुछ विद्वानों ने इन दोनों के बीच भेद भी किया है। जन संवाद वह प्रक्रिया है जिसके द्वारा सूचना काफी लोगों तक पहुंचाई जाती है, जबकि जन संचार इन सूचनाओं के पहुंचाने का साधन है। संदेश और सूचना को भेजने वालों से श्रोताओं तक हस्तांतरण की प्रक्रिया जन संवाद के अंतर्गत आती है। यह हस्तांतरण जन संचार की तकनीकों यथा समाचार-पत्रों, पत्रिकाओं, टेलीविजन कार्यक्रमों, फिल्मों, कंप्यूटर के जालों आदि के द्वारा होता है। सूचना भेजने वाला व्यक्ति किसी बड़े संचार संगठन अथवा सरकारी एजेंसियों से जुड़ा हो सकता है, संदेश सार्वजनिक होते हैं और दर्शकों की संख्या बहुत ज्यादा होती है। प्रस्तुत विवेचन में इन दोनों शब्दों – जन संचार तथा जन संवाद के बीच इस सूक्ष्म अंतर पर ध्यान नहीं दिया गया है। हमने यहां केवल जन संचार शब्द का प्रयोग किया है जो अधिक लोकप्रिय है और हमारे उद्देश्य की पूर्ति करता है।

सार्वजनिक संदेश के उत्पादन और प्रसारण के संगठित स्वरूप को जन संचार कहा जाता है जिसके अंतर्गत टेलीविजन, रेडियो, फिल्म, समाचार-पत्र तथा पत्रिकाएं सम्मिलित हैं। संचार के इन साधनों को तीन प्रमुख श्रेणियों में विभक्त किया गया है – मुद्रित संचार, विद्युत संचार तथा श्रव्य-दृश्य संचार।

समाज और संचार माध्यम

हम यहां मुख्य रूप से संचार के सामाजिक प्रकार्य तथा संचार की सामान्य आलोचना पर विचार करेंगे।

संचार माध्यम लोगों तक दैनिक घटनाओं की सूचना पहुंचाते हैं। इनमें सभी वस्तुओं का समावेश होता है, चाहे वह मौसम की जानकारी हो अथवा स्थानीय, राष्ट्रीय तथा अंतर्राष्ट्रीय घटनाएं यथा राजनीति, युद्ध एवं प्राकृतिक विपदा। बड़े नगरों और शहरों में लोग एक-दूसरे से काफी अलग-अलग रहते हैं, जन संचार इन्हें आसपास की घटनाओं से अवगत कराते रहते हैं।

मनोरंजन संचार का दूसरा महत्त्वपूर्ण कार्य है। लोग न केवल फिल्म जैसे मनोरंजन के साधनों के द्वारा अपना मनोरंजन करते हैं, बल्कि जन संचार द्वारा दी गई सूचना से भी अपना मनोरंजन करते हैं। उदाहरण के लिए, स्थानीय समाचार कार्यक्रम हिंसक अपराधों तथा खेलकूद विषयों का विवरण देकर लोगों को न केवल सूचना देते हैं बल्कि उनका मनोरंजन भी करते हैं। अधिकांश स्थानीय टेलीविजन चैनल लोगों का पर्याप्त मनोरंजन कर मुनाफा कमाते हैं।

बच्चों के समाजीकरण में संचार की भूमिका काफी बढ़ गई है। जैसा कि आप जानते हैं, परिवार, समसमूह तथा विद्यालय सामान्यत: समाजीकरण के मुख्य कारक हैं। फिर भी, जनसंचार के विकास के कारण बच्चों पर संचार व्यवस्था का काफी सक्रिय प्रभाव पड़ रहा है। संगीतज्ञ, नर्तक, खेलकूद के हीरो, अभिनेता तथा अभिनेत्रियां सभी तरुणों को नया विचार देते हैं कि कैसे व्यवहार करना चाहिए और किस प्रकार की पोशाक पहननी चाहिए। संचार के माध्यमों द्वारा चित्रित मूल्यों, मनोवृत्तियों और विश्वासों को भी तरुण अंगीकार कर लेते हैं। मार्टिन इसलिन ने अपनी पुस्तक 'द एज ऑफ टेलीविजन' में बताया है कि टेलीविजन हमारे घरों में सामूहिक दिवा-स्वप्न का अंतहीन प्रवास लाता है, जिससे तथ्य एवं वास्तविकता, वास्तविक संसार एवं स्वप्न चित्रित संसार का भेद धुंधला हो जाता है। टेलीविजन धनवान होने की हमारी इच्छा को तृप्त करता है और कामुक इच्छाओं की संतुष्टि का प्रबंध करता है। संचार के प्रभाव का यह पक्ष हमारा ध्यान यथार्थ जीवन से हटाता है और तार्किक रूप से सोचने की क्षमता में कमी लाता है।

सांस्कृतिक निरंतरता को बनाए रखने में संचार हमारी मदद करता है। संस्कृति को जीवित रखने में इसकी अहम भूमिका है। तेज़ी से बदलते विश्व में संस्कृति के कई तत्त्व दृश्य से ओझल हो रहे हैं। इन तत्वों को कार्यक्रमों में सम्मिलित कर लोगों को इसके अस्तित्व का भान कराया जाता है। उदाहरणस्वरूप भारत में रेडियो ने शास्त्रीय संगीत के प्रसारण द्वारा इस परंपरा को जीवित रखने की कोशिश की है।

अब हम जन संचार के नकारात्मक प्रभावों की चर्चा करते हैं। कई विद्वानों, शिक्षा कर्मियों तथा अन्य लोगों ने संचार के प्रभावों की तीखी आलोचना की है। उनमें से कुछ आलोचनाएं इस प्रकार हैं –

(क) जन संचार पलायनवाद को बढ़ावा देता है।

(ख) जन संचार निष्क्रियता उत्पन्न करता है और जीवन की गंभीर वस्तुओं से ध्यान हटाता है।

(ग) जन संचार व्यक्तिगत रुचियों को नष्ट कर सांस्कृतिक एकरूपता की ओर अग्रसर करता है।

(घ) जन संचार सामग्रियों को बेचने के लिए विज्ञापनों में महिलाओं का इस्तेमाल करता है।

(ङ) जन संचार वास्तविकता की गलत तस्वीर प्रस्तुत करता है।

ये आलोचनाएं अधिकांशत: जन संचार के माध्यमों के विरोध में नहीं हैं, इनका संबंध मूलत: उन

कार्यक्रमों के स्वरूप तथा विषय-वस्तु पर केंद्रित है जो इन माध्यमों द्वारा प्रस्तुत किए जाते हैं। ये तर्क राज्य एवं समाज की संचार नीति की सीमाओं को भी प्रतिबिंबित करते हैं जहां उन चैनलों का संचालन होता है। जन संचार के उन नकारात्मक पक्षों के बावजूद आधुनिक समाज में जन संचार की बढ़ती गति को रोका नहीं जा सकता है। हमें उनके साथ ही रहना होगा।

भारत में संचार परिदृश्य

भारत महान जन संवादियों का देश रहा है। विविधताओं वाले इस देश में एक साथ बड़ी संख्या में लोगों के बीच संदेश पहुंचाना एक समस्या रही है। जब टेलीविजन अथवा इंटरनेट जैसे संचार के आधुनिक माध्यम उपलब्ध नहीं थे, लोग पारस्परिक संवाद के द्वारा ही सूचनाएं प्राप्त करते थे। इन स्रोतों में धार्मिक उपदेशक, मानव संवादवाहक, व्यापारी, यात्री तथा दूसरे पारंपरिक माध्यम प्रमुख थे। इस प्रकार यद्यपि लंबे समय से सभी प्रकार की संचार रणनीतियों, मॉडलों तथा प्रयोगों का इस्तेमाल होता रहा है तथापि संचार के नए साधनों के उपलब्ध हो जाने से परंपरागत सूचना स्रोतों की लोकप्रियता कम हुई है।

स्वस्थ मनोरंजन की अतिरिक्त सूचना तथा शिक्षा के द्वारा जनता के बीच ज्ञान के प्रसार में जन संचार की अहम भूमिका है। देश में सभी प्रकार के संचार साधनों – मुद्रित, विद्युत और श्रव्य-दृश्य माध्यमों का विकास हुआ है। आइए, अब हम भारत में संचार परिदृश्य पर विचार करें।

मुद्रित संचार

जैसा कि शब्द से ही स्पष्ट है, मुद्रित संचार के अंतर्गत विभिन्न प्रकार के समाचार-पत्र एवं पत्रिकाएं शामिल हैं।

भारत में समाचार-पत्रों के रजिस्ट्रार की वर्ष 2000 की वार्षिक रिपोर्ट के अनुसार, भारत में प्रकाशित होने वाले समाचार-पत्रों तथा पत्रिकाओं की कुल संख्या 49,145 थी जो वर्ष 1999 की प्रकाशित संख्या 46,655 से 5.34 प्रतिशत अधिक थी। इनमें 5,364 दैनिक, 339 अद्र्ध साप्ताहिक, 17,749 साप्ताहिक, 6,553 पाक्षिक, 13,616 मासिक तथा 3,425 त्रैमासिक थे। वर्ष 2000 के दौरान 101 भाषाओं और बोलियों में समाचार-पत्रों का प्रकाशन हुआ था। सबसे अधिक समाचार-पत्र हिंदी (19,685) में और इसके बाद अंग्रेज़ी (7175) और उर्दू (2848) में प्रकाशित हुए थे। कश्मीरी को छोड़कर सभी प्रमुख भाषाओं में दैनिक समाचार-पत्र प्रकाशित हुए थे। सभी राज्यों और केंद्र शासित प्रदेशों से समाचार-पत्रों का प्रकाशन हो रहा है। मुंबई से सन 1822 से प्रकाशित होने वाला गुजराती दैनिक 'बांबे समाचार' सबसे पुराना समाचार-पत्र है। समाचार-पत्रों के रजिस्ट्रार की रिपोर्ट के अनुसार वर्ष 2000 के दौरान भारतीय समाचार-पत्रों का कुल परिसंचरण 12,69,63,763 प्रतियांक था।

आधुनिक मुद्रित संचार को कई माध्यमों की स्थापना द्वारा मजबूत बनाया गया है। सन 1956 में समाचार-पत्रों को अखबारी कागज़ के आवंटन के लिए 'द रजिस्ट्रार ऑफ न्यूज़पेपर्स इन इंडिया' (आर. एन.आई.) की स्थापना हुई थी। सभी समाचार-पत्रों एवं पत्रिकाओं को आर. एन. आई. द्वारा पंजीकृत होना पड़ता है। समाचार-पत्रों के लिए समाचार एकत्र करने तथा उसे पहुंचाने के लिए 'प्रेस ट्रस्ट ऑफ इंडिया' और 'युनाइटेड न्यूज़ ऑफ इंडिया' जैसी समाचार एजेंसियां हैं। प्रेस की स्वतंत्रता को सुरक्षित रखने तथा समाचार-पत्रों एवं समाचार एजेंसियों के स्तर को सुधारने के लिए 'प्रेस काउंसिल ऑफ इंडिया' की स्थापना की गई है। भारत सरकार ने नीतियों, कार्यक्रमों तथा विभिन्न क्रियाकलापों से संबंधित सूचनाओं के प्रसार के लिए अपनी संस्थाएं 'प्रेस सूचना ब्यूरो' तथा 'प्रकाशन विभाग' बना रखे हैं।

विद्युत संचार

भारत में रेडियो और टेलीविजन विद्युत संचार के दो मुख्य साधन हैं।

आकाशवाणी : भारत में वर्ष 1927 में ही निजी स्वामित्व वाले ट्रांसमीटरों द्वारा प्रसारण प्रारंभ हो गया था। वर्ष 1930 में इन ट्रांसमीटरों को सरकार ने अपने हाथों में ले लिया और 'इंडियन ब्राडकास्टिंग सर्विस' के नाम से प्रसारण होने लगा। वर्ष 1936 में इसका नाम बदल कर 'ऑल इंडिया रेडियो' किया गया और पुनः वर्ष 1957 से यह 'आकाशवाणी' के नाम से जाना जाता है। अब 100 से अधिक एफ. एम. (फ्रिक्वेंसी मॉड्यूलेशन) रेडियो स्टेशन देश में स्थापित हो चुके हैं।

वर्तमान में आकाशवाणी के 208 रेडियो स्टेशन और 327 ट्रांसमीटर हैं। इनमें 149 मीडियम वेव के, 55 शार्ट वेव तथा 123 एफ. एम. ट्रांसमीटर हैं। देश में 28 मई, 1995 से एफ. एम. चैनल और 25 फरवरी, 1998 से ऑल इंडिया रेडियो न्यूज़ ऑन फोन सेवा भी उपलब्ध है। ऑन-लाइन सूचना सेवा के लिए अब आकाशवाणी को इंटरनेट से जोड़ दिया गया है। राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर भारत में प्रसारण सेवा का विस्तार क्षेत्र की दृष्टि से 90.6 प्रतिशत और जनसंख्या की दृष्टि से 98.8 प्रतिशत हो चुका है।

दूरदर्शन (डी.डी.): भारत में राष्ट्रीय टेलीविजन-दूरदर्शन, विश्व के सबसे बड़े स्थलीय नेटवर्कों में से एक है। प्रयोग के तौर पर टेलीविजन का प्रारंभ दिल्ली से एक स्टेशन के साथ 15 सितंबर, 1959 में हुआ था। सामाजिक शिक्षा प्रदान करने के माध्यम के रूप में इसका उपयोग होता था। हिंदी में समाचार बुलेटिन के साथ नियमित सेवा का प्रारंभ 15 अगस्त, 1965 को हुआ। देश का दूसरा टेलीविजन केंद्र वर्ष 1972 में मुंबई में खोला गया। इसके बाद श्रीनगर और अमृतसर में वर्ष 1973 तथा कोलकाता, चेन्नई और लखनऊ में वर्ष 1975 में टेलीविजन केंद्र स्थापित हुए। अप्रैल 1976 में दूरदर्शन को ऑल इंडिया रेडियो से अलग कर एक स्वतंत्र विभाग बना दिया गया। दृश्य अवलोकन के अतिरिक्त विकल्प उपलब्ध करवाने के लिए दिल्ली में वर्ष 1984 में एक और चैनल जोड़ा गया।

अब दूरदर्शन अपने 1042 स्थलीय ट्रांसमीटरों के जाल के द्वारा देश की आबादी के 87 प्रतिशत और 70 प्रतिशत भौगोलिक क्षेत्र तक पहुंच चुका है। देश के 49 शहरों में इसके प्रोडक्शन स्टूडियो हैं।

विभिन्न दूरदर्शन केंद्रों द्वारा अलग-अलग भाषाओं में शैक्षणिक टेलीविजन कार्यक्रम प्रसारित होते हैं। मानव संसाधन विकास मंत्रालय के सहयोग और इंदिरा गांधी राष्ट्रीय मुक्त विश्वविद्यालय के माध्यम से दूरदर्शन का एक विशेष शैक्षिक चैनल डी.डी.-ज्ञानदर्शन 26 जनवरी, 2000 से प्रारंभ किया गया है। इसके अतिरिक्त पूरे देश में करीब सौ से अधिक निजी टी.वी. चैनल और केबल नेटवर्क हैं जो हिंदी एवं अंग्रेज़ी के अतिरिक्त क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं में कार्यक्रम प्रसारित करते हैं।

श्रव्य-दृश्य संचार

भारत में जन संचार का सबसे लोकप्रिय माध्यम फिल्में रही हैं। हमारे यहां सन 1912-13 से ही फिल्में बनाई जा रही हैं। चित्रे के साथ मिलकर आर.जी. टोरनी ने 1912 में 'पुंडलिक' बनाई जबकि धूनजीराज गोविंद फालके ने वर्ष 1913 में 'राजा हरिश्चंद्र' नाम की फिल्म बनाई। सवाक चित्र (टॉकीज़) ने वर्ष 1931 में मूक फिल्मों का स्थान लिया जब अदेशीर इरानी ने 'आलम आरा' प्रस्तुत की। फीचर फिल्म के वार्षिक उत्पादन में भारत दुनिया में अग्रणी है।

भारत में फिल्मों का प्रदर्शन सेंट्रल बोर्ड ऑफ फिल्म सर्टिफिकेशन के प्रमाण-पत्र के बाद ही

किया जा सकता है। बोर्ड ने वर्ष 2000 के दौरान 855 भारतीय और 252 विदेशी फीचर फिल्मों को प्रमाणित किया था। इसके अतिरिक्त 1058 भारतीय और 194 विदेशी छोटी फिल्में, 111 भारतीय वीडियो फीचर फिल्में और 38 विदेशी वीडियो फीचर फिल्में, 503 भारतीय वीडियो छोटी फिल्में और 167 विदेशी वीडियो फिल्मों को भी प्रमाण-पत्र दिया गया था।

भारत सरकार ने वर्ष 1948 में पुनरुत्थानशील स्वतंत्र भारत की उपलब्धियों को अंकित, प्रचारित तथा सुरक्षित रखने के लिए फिल्म डिवीजन की स्थापना की थी। यह जनता और सरकार के बीच सक्रिय कड़ी रहा है। फिल्म डिवीजन आज समाचार पत्रिकाओं तथा वृत्त-चित्रों के उत्पादन और वितरण की सबसे बड़ी राष्ट्रीय एजेंसी है।

सूचना, जन संचार और सांस्कृतिक परिवर्तन

यह स्वीकृत तथ्य है कि विकास और परिवर्तन में सूचना एक महत्वपूर्ण कारक है। जन संचार के द्वारा नए विचारों का प्रसारण परिवर्तन के लिए उपयुक्त वातावरण तैयार करता है। मनोवृत्ति और मूल्यों में बदलाव लाने के अतिरिक्त सूचना नवीन कौशल और तकनीक का ज्ञान भी प्रदान करती है। सूचना लोगों के मानसिक ज्ञान की सीमा के विस्तार में भी सहायता पहुंचाती है। लोगों की आकांक्षाओं के स्तर को ऊंचा उठाने में भी इसका उपयोग होता है।

निरक्षरता की उच्च दर के बावजूद मुद्रित सामग्रियों की महत्ता को नजरअंदाज नहीं किया जा सकता है। समाचार-पत्र अब केवल नगरीय क्षेत्रों में ही लोकप्रिय नहीं रह गए हैं बल्कि ग्रामीण आबादी के साक्षर समूहों के बीच भी यह काफी लोकप्रिय है। समाचार-पत्र की एक प्रति चाय अथवा कॉफी की दुकानों में दर्जनों लोगों के बीच पढ़ी जाती है। वस्तुतः समाचार-पत्र सही मायने में जन माध्यम बन गया है। टेलीविजन भी मनोरंजन एवं सामयिक सूचना के प्रसारण का सामान्य स्रोत बन चुका है। असल में, जन संचार की बढ़ती लोकप्रियता लोगों के जीवन में क्रांति ला रही है।

सूचनाओं का प्रभाव विविध आयामी है। इसने परिवर्तन की प्रक्रिया को तीव्र किया है। नई चीजों और जगहों के विषय में लोग अब ज़्यादा जानते हैं। उनकी संस्कृति में कई नवीन तत्त्व शामिल हो रहे हैं। दैनिक जीवन तथा व्यवहार भी दूसरों के रिवाजों के प्रभाव में आ रहे हैं। दूसरे शब्दों में, संचार के विभिन्न माध्यमों से सांस्कृतिक परिवर्तन का सूत्रपात हो रहा है। सूचना के आधुनिक माध्यमों के विस्तार ने नई सांस्कृतिक चुनौतियों को भी जन्म दिया है। अपनी सांस्कृतिक अस्मिता के महत्त्व को लोग पहचानने लगे हैं। अपने सांस्कृतिक प्रतीकों और पदार्थों में लोगों की अभिरुचि पुनः जाग्रत हुई है। संचार के आधुनिक तरीकों की सहायता से पारंपरिक सामूहिक गतिविधियां पुनः मजबूत हुई हैं। इस प्रक्रिया ने लोक सांस्कृतिक संस्थाओं को उभरती सांस्कृतिक परंपरा के साथ जोड़ दिया है। समाजशास्त्रियों ने इसे भारतवासियों का सांस्कृतिक लचीलापन कहा है। इसने परंपरागत और आधुनिक मूल्य व्यवस्था का संतुलन बनाकर एक प्रकार की सांस्कृतिक अखंडता का मार्ग प्रशस्त किया है।

भूमंडलीकरण और स्थानीय संस्कृति

प्रारंभ में भूमंडलीकरण की परिभाषा आर्थिक प्रक्रिया के रूप में की गई है। हम अब आगे कहना चाहेंगे कि भूमंडलीकरण न केवल एक आर्थिक प्रक्रिया है बल्कि यह बहु आयामी प्रक्रिया है। यह प्रक्रियाओं का समूह है जो व्यक्तियों, समूहों और समुदायों के बीच अंतःसंबंध स्थापित करता है। इन संबंधों का मानवीय जीवन पर गहरा असर पड़ता है। इस स्थिति में स्थापित सामाजिक संबंध पूर्णरूपेण परिवर्तित हो जाते

हैं, क्योंकि यह जीवन से अत्यंत गहराई से जुड़े होते हैं। इस प्रकार, भूमंडलीकरण के अंतर्गत व्यक्तियों का जीवन तथा समुदायों का भाग्य दूर देशों की घटनाओं पर अधिक निर्भर हो जाता है। राष्ट्रीय तथा स्थानीय सीमाएं कमज़ोर पड़ जाती हैं। कार्यकलापों का पार-महाद्वीपीय तथा पार-देशीय जाल बिछ जाता है। सांस्कृतिक दृष्टि से नए संबंध स्थापित हो जाते हैं। ये परिवर्तन भूमंडलीकरण के सांस्कृतिक आयाम के द्योतक हैं। इस परिप्रेक्ष्य में हम स्थानीय संस्कृति पर भूमंडलीकरण के प्रभाव की चर्चा करेंगे।

हम जानते हैं कि संस्कृति मानव समाज का अनिवार्य अंग है। यह समाज व्यवस्था का एक मुख्य तत्त्व है। प्रत्येक समाज की अपनी संस्कृति होती है जो निजी विशेषताओं से भरी होती है। परंतु किसी समाज विशेष की संस्कृति में क्षेत्रीय विविधता पाई जा सकती है। उदाहरण के लिए, भारतीय संस्कृति में ही हमें कई धाराएं देखने को मिलती हैं जो विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में अवस्थित हैं। इन सांस्कृतिक क्षेत्रों की परंपराएं अलग-अलग हैं। इन्हें हम उप संस्कृति कह सकते हैं। कुछ समाजशास्त्रियों ने इन क्षेत्रीय संस्कृतियों को 'स्थानीय संस्कृति' कहा है। स्थानीय संस्कृति शब्द का उपयोग तुलनात्मक अर्थ में हुआ है। जब हम किसी देश की संस्कृति की बात करते हैं तब दूसरे देशों में लोगों के लिए यह एक राष्ट्रीय संस्कृति है। किंतु यदि संदर्भ किसी देश के भीतर अवस्थित सांस्कृतिक क्षेत्रों से है तब प्रसंग बदल जाता है। उदाहरण के लिए, अमेरिका और ब्रिटिश वासियों के लिए भारतीय संस्कृति भारत की राष्ट्रीय संस्कृति है। परंतु भारतवासियों के लिए स्थानीय संस्कृति से तात्पर्य बिहार, उड़ीसा, तमिलनाडु अथवा केरल में पाए जाने वाले स्थानीय सांस्कृतिक प्रतिमानों से है। हम जनजातीय समुदायों की स्थानीय संस्कृतियों की भी बात कर सकते हैं।

यहां हमारा उद्देश्य भूमंडलीकरण के कारण विभिन्न समूहों तथा समुदायों की संस्कृतियों में हो रहे परिवर्तनों को स्पष्ट करना है। विभिन्न देशों में उपयोग के प्रतिमानों, परिधान की शैलियों, सौंदर्य सामग्रियों के उपयोग आदि में व्यापक परिवर्तन दिख रहे हैं। संगीत, सांस्कृतिक प्रदर्शनों, कला के स्वरूपों तथा क्षेत्रीय सांस्कृतिक विशेषताओं में भी परिवर्तन आ रहे हैं। दृढ़ता से यह कहना कठिन है कि ये परिवर्तन किस सीमा तक बढ़ते भूमंडलीकरण के परिणाम हैं। किंतु साथ ही अन्य देशों की सांस्कृतिक संस्थाओं तथा व्यवहारों के प्रभाव की भूमिका को भी हम नज़रअंदाज़ नहीं कर सकते। बाज़ार तथा पदार्थ उन्मुख सांस्कृतिक शक्तियां सांस्कृतिक मूल्यों तथा पदार्थों को अव्यवस्थित कर रही हैं।

भूमंडलीकरण ने स्थानीय एवं लघु सांस्कृतिक पहचानों के लिए वास्तविक तथा काल्पनिक भय बढ़ा दिया है। बाज़ार के महत्त्व की वृद्धि ने सांस्कृतिक प्रतीकों को पदार्थों में रूपांतरित कर दिया है। संस्कृति को बाज़ार में बिक्री के लिए उपलब्ध कराया जा रहा है। संस्कृति का बाज़ारीकरण स्पष्ट दिखाई दे रहा है। पर्यटन का उद्योग के रूप में उभरना, पर्यटन स्थलों की बढ़ती संख्या और सांस्कृतिक वस्तुओं का विपणन– ये सभी मुद्दे स्थानीय समुदायों को प्रभावित कर रहे हैं। इनके परिणामों ने सांस्कृतिक वस्तुओं को अर्थहीन बना दिया है। लोक संस्कृति की संरचना का क्षरण इसका स्वाभाविक परिणाम है। इस तरह भूमंडलीकरण सांस्कृतिक विखंडन उत्पन्न करता है, क्योंकि यह सांस्कृतिक परंपरा के सारवान मूल्यों को संकट में डाल देता है।

इसके अतिरिक्त, भूमंडलीकरण सजातीयता की अपेक्षा रखता है। यह समानता तथा सजातीयता के विचारों पर आधारित है। दूसरी ओर, संस्कृति का मूल तत्त्व विलक्षणता है। संस्कृति को विविधता कायम रखती है न कि सजातीयता, ऐसा खासकर बहुसांस्कृतिक

समाजों में होता है। भारत बहुसांस्कृतिक व्यवस्था वाले समाज का अत्यंत उपयुक्त उदाहरण है। भूमंडलीकरण सांस्कृतिक विशिष्टताओं के मिश्रण का प्रयत्न करता है और इस तरह बाहुल्य को नकारता है। विश्व संस्कृति का सार्वभौमिक उद्देश्य सांस्कृतिक भिन्नता तथा विशिष्टताओं को अस्वीकार करने का प्रयास है। भूमंडलीकरण संपूर्ण विश्व को एक ही व्यवस्था मानता है, अत: इसकी कोशिश एक विश्व संस्कृति की रचना करना है। अत: विश्व संस्कृति के उदय के लिए यह स्थानीय संस्कृति तथा उपसंस्कृति के लोप को उचित सिद्ध करता है।

भूमंडलीकरण के अंतर्गत राष्ट्रों की सांस्कृतिक स्वायत्तता खतरे में है। सामाजिक स्तर पर परंपरागत सांस्कृतिक ढांचे एवं संस्थाओं का विघटन हो रहा है। पश्चिमी देशों द्वारा निर्मित संचार सामग्री आज पूरी दुनिया के संचार चैनलों में प्रभुत्व जमाए बैठी है। हमारे अपने देश में भी टेलीविजन नेटवर्कों ने विदेशों में तैयार कार्यक्रमों का प्रसारण प्रारंभ कर दिया है। ये कार्यक्रम स्थानीय संस्कृति को नष्ट कर रहे हैं। ये वैचारिक संदेशों द्वारा लोगों पर मत आरोपित कर उन्हें पराए मूल्यों तथा विश्वासों को स्वीकार कराने में लगे हैं।

विश्वव्यापी संस्कृति के नाम पर छिछला उपभोक्ता पैकेज तीसरी दुनिया के देशों में परोसा जा रहा है। इस संस्कृति के प्रभाव से संबंधों में अस्थायित्व तथा संकीर्णता आई है और वे केवल आर्थिक संतुष्टि के लिए रह गए हैं। सहयोग, सहभागिता तथा समन्वय जैसे मूल्यों में गिरावट आई है और समाज में तनाव बढ़ा है। वस्तुत: संस्कृति की यह अप्रतिष्ठा भूमंडलीकरण का एक गंभीर नकारात्मक पहलू है।

शब्दावली

उपग्रह संचार (सैटेलाइट कम्युनिकेशन) : इसके द्वारा विभिन्न माध्यमों के बीच संसार के किसी भी क्षेत्र में संचार एवं संबंध स्थापित किया जा सकता है।

श्रव्य-दृश्य माध्यम : वह माध्यम जो देखने एवं सुनने की सुविधाओं को संचारित कर सकता है, जैसे – कंप्यूटर, टेलीविजन इत्यादि।

क्रांति : यह विद्यमान सामाजिक व्यवस्था में आमूल-चूल परिवर्तन ला सकती है। यह धीरे-धीरे नहीं होती है।

संस्कृति का बाज़ारीकरण : बाज़ारीकरण के बढ़ते महत्त्व ने सांस्कृतिक प्रतीकों को उपयोगी वस्तुओं के रूप में बदल दिया है। यह प्रक्रिया संस्कृति का बाज़ारीकरण कहलाती है।

सजातीयकरण : यह बहुसांस्कृतिक समाजों में समानता एवं सजातीयता को अभिव्यक्त करती है।

अभ्यास प्रश्न

1. जन संचार साधन से आप क्या समझते हैं ?
2. जन संचार साधन के क्या कार्य हैं ?

3. प्रिंट मीडिया एवं ऑडियो विजुवल मीडिया (श्रव्य-दृश्य माध्यम) के बीच अंतर बताइए।
4. संचार माध्यम किस प्रकार समाज में विकास एवं परिवर्तन लाने में सहायक होता है ?
5. मनोरंजन क्रांति क्या है ?
6. सांस्कृतिक आधुनिकीकरण क्या है ?
7. भूमंडलीकरण के सांस्कृतिक आयाम क्या हैं ?
8. 'स्थानीय संस्कृति' शब्द से आप क्या समझते हैं ?
9. भूमंडलीकरण की प्रक्रिया के तहत संस्कृति में आने वाले परिवर्तनों पर प्रकाश डालिए।

संदर्भ-ग्रंथ

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अध्याय 9

असहमति तथा सामाजिक परिवर्तन

प्रत्येक समाज में कुछ हद तक असंतोष विद्यमान रहता है। यह असंतोष गरीबी, सामाजिक भेदभाव अथवा सुविधा के अभाव में हो सकता है। इस परिस्थिति में परिवर्तन के लिए लोग अन्याय और वंचन के विरोध में आवाज़ उठाने की प्रबल इच्छा विकसित कर सकते हैं। वे स्थापित सामाजिक व्यवहारों के विषय में भिन्न प्रकार से सोच सकते हैं। वस्तुत: विचारों में यह बदलाव परिवर्तन की इच्छा को प्रदर्शित करता है। इस परिस्थिति में ही सामाजिक आंदोलन का उदय होता है। कोई आंदोलन अचानक घटित नहीं होता। यह असहमति से प्रारंभ होकर विरोध की ओर बढ़ते हुए अंतत: सामाजिक आंदोलन का रूप धारण कर लेता है। यह शृंखला असहमति, विरोध और सामाजिक आंदोलन व सामाजिक परिवर्तन के विभिन्न चरणों को इंगित करती है। किंतु कुछ मामलों में ये सभी चरण एक साथ एक ही समय में हो सकते हैं। असहमति तथा सामाजिक परिवर्तन का विश्लेषण इस पृष्ठभूमि में ही करना सही है। प्रस्तुत चर्चा में हम सर्वप्रथम इन अवधारणाओं को स्पष्ट करेंगे और फिर सामाजिक आंदोलन के विभिन्न प्रकारों की चर्चा करेंगे।

असहमति

असहमति शब्द का संदर्भ उन विचारों तथा कार्यकलापों से है जो किसी खास समय में समाज में प्रचलित व्यवहारों से भिन्न है। विचार में भिन्नता तथा कुछ मुद्दों पर असहमत होना असहमति का आधार होता है। इस प्रकार असहमति को परिवर्तन के आंदोलन का प्रारंभ माना जा सकता है। उदाहरणस्वरूप, भारत में छुआछूत जैसे अमानवीय व्यवहार के विरोध में संघर्ष तब प्रारंभ हुआ जब इस व्यवहार से पीड़ित लोगों ने इस क्रूरतापूर्ण व्यवहार के विरुद्ध आवाज़ उठाई।

विरोध

सामान्यत: विरोध का स्वरूप अत्यंत विशिष्ट होता है। जब असहमति खुलकर प्रकट होती है तब यह विरोध का रूप ले लेती है। जब वैचारिक असहमति और भी ठोस रूप धारण कर लेती है तब विरोध की स्थिति बन जाती है। इस प्रकार विरोध को अर्थपूर्ण होने के लिए किसी खास समय में समाज की संस्थागत व्यवस्थाओं के विषय में असहमति द्वारा समर्थित होना होगा। वस्तुत: इस स्तर पर ही अन्याय और वंचन की चेतना जाग्रत होती है। अत: हम कह सकते हैं कि भेदभाव और वंचन की सामाजिक अभिव्यक्ति ही विरोध का प्रारंभ है।

निष्कर्ष के रूप में हम कह सकते हैं कि असहमति वर्तमान स्थिति के प्रति असंतोष प्रकट करती है और मतभेद को दृढ़ता से व्यक्त करती है। दूसरी ओर विरोध, असहमति का औपचारिक प्रदर्शन है और प्रतिरोध तथा संघर्ष की परिस्थिति का अपेक्षाकृत ठोस प्रतिनिधित्व करता है।

सामाजिक आंदोलन

सामाजिक आंदोलन आज समाजशास्त्रीय अभिरूप का एक प्रमुख विषय हो गया है क्योंकि यह सामाजिक परिवर्तन का एक महत्त्वपूर्ण स्रोत है। सामाजिक आंदोलन एक सतत सामूहिक प्रयास है जो सामाजिक परिवर्तन के कुछ पक्षों पर ध्यान केंद्रित रखता है।

एम. एस. ए. राव का कहना है कि सामाजिक आंदोलन अनौपचारिक अथवा औपचारिक संगठन के द्वारा किया गया सतत सामूहिक प्रयास है और यह सामान्यत: वर्तमान संबंधों की संरचना में परिवर्तन के लिए उन्मुख होता है। विचारधारा को भी राव सामाजिक आंदोलन का एक महत्त्वपूर्ण तत्त्व मानते हैं। यह परिभाषा सामाजिक आंदोलन की निम्नांकित विशिष्टताओं पर प्रकाश डालती है –

प्रथम, सामाजिक आंदोलन व्यक्तिगत प्रयासों के विपरीत एक सामूहिक प्रयास है। समूह तथा समुदाय ही आंदोलन करता है किंतु यह भीड़ से भिन्न होता है। भीड़ की सामान्यत: कोई पहचान नहीं होती परंतु कोई भी आंदोलन सामूहिक पहचान के बिना संभव नहीं है। भीड़ न तो संगठित होती है और न ही इसमें स्थायित्व होता है। इसके विपरीत सामाजिक आंदोलन संगठित सामूहिक प्रयत्न है। इस प्रकार सामाजिक आंदोलन की पहली विशिष्टता इसका सामूहिक रूप है।

सांगठनिक संरचना तथा नेतृत्व सामाजिक आंदोलन का दूसरा प्रमुख पक्ष है। प्रत्येक आंदोलन में कार्यों के वितरण की आवश्यकता हुआ करती है। ये कार्य विभिन्न व्यक्तियों तथा सामूहिक इकाइयों को उनकी व्यक्तिगत क्षमताओं तथा वचनबद्धता के आधार पर सौंपे जाते हैं। इस तरह, आंदोलन के लक्ष्य की प्राप्ति के लिए एक प्रकार के सांगठनिक ढांचे का स्वरूप खड़ा होता है। एक आकर्षक नेता जिसे समाजशास्त्रीय साहित्य में करिश्माई कहा जाता है, जब किसी आंदोलन का नेतृत्व करता है तब आंदोलन को जनता का समर्थन स्वत: मिल जाता है। भारतीय स्वतंत्रता आंदोलन में महात्मा गांधी के अनुयायियों की विशाल संख्या इसका उत्तम उदाहरण है। विकेंद्रित जनतांत्रिक नेतृत्व भी एक लोकप्रिय रणनीति हो सकती है। इस प्रकार संगठन की मजबूती के लिए स्थानीय तथा क्षेत्रीय स्तरों पर इकाइयों और शाखाओं के व्यापक ढांचे का निर्माण किया जाता है। लोगों को एकत्रित करने, सूचनाओं के प्रसार तथा कार्यक्रमों के संपादन के लिए इन इकाइयों की आवश्यकता होती है। यद्यपि इन संगठनों को आंदोलन के लक्ष्यों तथा उद्देश्यों के आधार पर स्थापित किया जाता है किंतु यह लोगों की सामूहिक इच्छा को भी प्रकट करते हैं।

तीसरा, आंदोलन अपने को तब तक जीवित नहीं रख सकता जब तक यह अपनी अलग पहचान और विचारधारा को विकसित नहीं कर लेता। मांग और रणनीति संबंधी विचार, लक्ष्य की प्राथमिकता और परिवर्तन की दिशा, साध्य और साधन – ये सभी आंदोलन की विचारधारा के आधार हुआ करते हैं। किसी आंदोलन की विचारधारा उन धारणाओं के पुंज पर निर्भर करती है जो इसके उद्देश्यों तथा पद्धतियों की व्याख्या करे तथा इसे उचित सिद्ध कर सके। इस प्रकार वैचारिक पद्धति न केवल लोगों की अपेक्षाओं को व्यक्त करती है अपितु उनकी अपेक्षाओं के स्तर को भी परिभाषित करती है। इसके अतिरिक्त, विचारधारा आंदोलन के कार्यक्रमों को वैधता प्रदान करती है। इससे आंदोलन को जनता की स्वीकृति तथा मान्यता मिलती है। यह आंदोलन के लक्ष्यों से लोगों को जोड़ती है और सामूहिक प्रयासों को अधिक ठोस करने के लिए एक बिंदु पर एकत्र करने में सहायक भी होती है। किंतु हमें यहां इस महत्त्वपूर्ण तथ्य को नजरअंदाज नहीं करना चाहिए। यद्यपि प्रत्येक आंदोलन अपने विचारों तथा लक्ष्यों को स्वयं विकसित करता है

परंतु अक्सर ये किसी स्थापित विचारधारा से भी सशक्त रूप से प्रभावित हुए बिना नहीं रहता। उदाहरण के लिए, गांधीवाद तथा मार्क्सवाद ने भारत में कई सामाजिक तथा राजनीतिक आंदोलनों को प्रारंभ एवं प्रभावित किया है।

अंत में, परिवर्तन की अभिलाषा सामाजिक आंदोलन का एक अन्य महत्त्वपूर्ण पक्ष है। प्रत्येक आंदोलन अपने लक्ष्यों तथा उद्देश्यों के अनुरूप परिवर्तन की ओर अभिमुख होता है। अतः सामाजिक आंदोलनों और सामाजिक परिवर्तन के बीच एक सुस्थापित संबंध है। किंतु सभी आंदोलन समान नहीं होते। एक ओर कुछ आंदोलन आंशिक परिवर्तन की चाह रखते हैं तो दूसरी ओर कुछ सामाजिक संरचना में आमूल-चूल परिवर्तन का प्रयास करते हैं। इस प्रकार कुछ आंदोलन परिवर्तन को बढ़ावा देने वाले होते हैं तो कुछ उसे रोकने वाले होते हैं। इस विषय में विस्तार से चर्चा फिर करेंगे।

सामाजिक आंदोलन का उदय

सामाजिक आंदोलन प्रकट कैसे होता है ? कौन से कारक सामाजिक आंदोलन को उभारते हैं ? किस स्थिति में एक आंदोलन जारी रहता है ? इन प्रश्नों के उत्तर ही सामाजिक आंदोलन की उत्पत्ति तथा स्रोत को स्पष्ट करेंगे।

आंदोलन के उद्भव से संबंधित तीन प्रचलित व्याख्याएं हैं- सापेक्षिक वंचन सिद्धांत, संरचनात्मक खिंचाव सिद्धांत और पुनर्जीवनीकरण सिद्धांत।

सापेक्षिक वंचन सिद्धांत : वंचन उस स्थिति को दर्शाता है जिसमें लोगों को उस वस्तु का अभाव रहता है जिसकी आवश्यकता होती है। सापेक्षिक वंचन की स्थिति लोगों के इस चिंतन पर आधारित होती है कि अन्य लोगों की तुलना में उनके पास क्या है। इस अर्थ में सापेक्षिक वंचन तब घटित होता है जब व्यक्ति अथवा समूह यह अनुभव करते हैं कि उन्हें उनकी क्षमता के अनुरूप जो प्राप्त होना चाहिए वह प्राप्त नहीं है। दूसरे शब्दों में, न्यायसंगत अपेक्षाओं तथा वास्तविक उपलब्धियों में अंतराल ही सापेक्षिक वंचन हैं। ये अंतर आर्थिक स्थिति, सामाजिक पदस्थिति और राजनीतिक शक्ति के कारण हो सकते हैं। उदाहरण के लिए, एक शिक्षित बेरोजगार युवा पर्याप्त शैक्षणिक योग्यता के बावजूद नौकरीशुदा व्यक्तियों की तुलना में अपने को वंचित महसूस कर सकता है। इस प्रकार सापेक्षिक वंचन वर्तमान परिस्थितियों के विरुद्ध असंतोष पैदा करता है और इसके फलस्वरूप एक आंदोलन का उदय होता है। समाजशास्त्रियों ने अधिकांश सामाजिक आंदोलनों का अध्ययन सापेक्षिक वंचन सिद्धांत की परिधि में किया है।

संरचनात्मक खिंचाव का सिद्धांत : नील स्मेलसर द्वारा दिए गए संरचनात्मक खिंचाव के सिद्धांत का तर्क यह है कि समाज में विरोधाभास ही द्वंद्व तथा खिंचाव, चिंता एवं अनिश्चितता उत्पन्न करता है। संरचनात्मक खिंचाव मानदंड, मूल्य तथा सुविधाओं के विभिन्न स्तरों पर होता है। यह खिंचाव आंदोलन जैसे सामूहिक व्यवहार को प्रेरणा देता है। यद्यपि सामाजिक आंदोलनों में समाजशास्त्रीय कारकों का समावेश करने वालों में स्मेलसर प्रथम पंक्तेय व्यक्ति थे परंतु उनकी आलोचना इस कारण हुई है कि उन्होंने मनोवैज्ञानिक प्रेरणा पर ज़रूरत से अधिक ज़ोर दिया है।

पुनर्जीवनीकरण का सिद्धांत: पुनर्जीवनीकरण का सिद्धांत प्रारंभ में ए. एफ. सी. वालास द्वारा दिया गया था। वालास का कहना है कि सामाजिक आंदोलन का जन्म सामाजिक सदस्यों द्वारा संगठित तथा चेतनशील प्रयासों के कारण होता है जिससे संस्कृति को अपने लिए अधिक संतोषजनक बनाया जा सके। आंदोलन की उत्पत्ति की यह व्याख्या उपर्युक्त दोनों व्याख्याओं से भिन्न है। सापेक्षिक वंचन

तथा खिंचाव का सिद्धांत दोनों नकारात्मक परिस्थितियों पर आधारित है। इन दोनों का तर्क है कि आंदोलनों की उत्पत्ति लोगों के वंचन तथा भेदभाव से संबंधित अनुभवों से होती है। किंतु पुनर्जीवनीकरण उपागम यह दिखाता है कि व्यवस्था को पुनर्जीवित करने के लिए सामाजिक आंदोलन एक सकारात्मक कार्यक्रम प्रस्तुत करता है। अतः इस सिद्धांत के अनुसार, न केवल वर्तमान स्थिति के विरुद्ध असंतोष एवं असहमति प्रकट करते हैं बल्कि व्यवस्था के पुनरुत्थान के लिए विकल्प भी प्रदान करते हैं।

सामाजिक आंदोलन के प्रकार

सामाजिक आंदोलनों को कई मानकों के आधार पर श्रेणीबद्ध किया गया है। अभीष्ट परिवर्तन के स्वरूप, सांगठनिक पद्धति तथा रणनीति, मांगों का स्वरूप, सहभागी समूह तथा समुदाय आदि कुछ प्रमुख कसौटियों का इस्तेमाल इस उद्देश्य से किया गया है।

आंदोलनों के वर्गीकरण से संबंधित भारतीय समाजशास्त्रियों में एम. एस. ए. राव का वर्गीकरण सबसे अधिक लोकप्रिय है। राव ने आंदोलनों के तीन मुख्य भेद किए हैं – सुधारवादी, रूपांतरकारी एवं क्रांतिकारी। सुधारवादी आंदोलन मूल्य व्यवस्था में केवल आंशिक परिवर्तन तथा उससे जुड़े संबंधों में गुणात्मक परिवर्तनों का इच्छुक होता है। दूसरी ओर, रूपांतरकारी आंदोलनों का लक्ष्य शक्ति के परंपरागत वितरण में मध्यम दर्जे के संरचनात्मक परिवर्तन का होता है। क्रांतिकारी आंदोलन समग्र सामाजिक एवं सांस्कृतिक व्यवस्थाओं को आमूल–चूल परिवर्तनों की ओर ले जाता है।

पार्थ एन. मुखर्जी ने सामाजिक व्यवस्थाओं में आंदोलनों द्वारा अभीष्ट परिवर्तन के स्वरूप तथा सीमा के आधार पर एक अलग वर्गीकरण प्रस्तुत किया है। परिवर्तन की कसौटी के आधार पर इन्होंने भी आंदोलनों को तीन भागों में बांटा है – सामाजिक आंदोलन, क्रांतिकारी आंदोलन तथा अर्द्ध आंदोलन। किसी व्यवस्था की संरचना में परिवर्तन अथवा बदलाव के वे प्रयास जो सामूहिक गतिशीलता से निर्देशित होते हैं उसे सामाजिक आंदोलन कहा जा सकता है। जब सामूहिक संगठन का लक्ष्य संपूर्ण समाज की प्रमुख संस्थागत व्यवस्था में आमूल-चूल परिवर्तन करना होता है तो उसे हम एक क्रांतिकारी आंदोलन कह सकते हैं। सामूहिक गतिशीलता जब व्यवस्था के अंदर ही परिवर्तन का लक्ष्य रखती है तब वह एक अर्द्ध आंदोलन है।

टी. के. उम्मन का वर्गीकरण आंदोलन की प्रक्रिया के क्रिस्टलीकरण, जीवनचक्र तथा सामाजिक आंदोलन के विभिन्न चरणों पर आधारित है। इनके अनुसार आंदोलनों को करिश्माई, विचारधारात्मक तथा सांगठनिक प्रकार में बांटा जा सकता है। आंदोलन के वर्गीकरण को उम्मन ने स्थान, भाषा, मुद्दे, सामाजिक श्रेणियों तथा मतों के आधार पर भी विभक्त किया है।

विभिन्न सामाजिक आंदोलनों में शामिल मुद्दों के स्वरूप को समझने के लिए इन वर्गीकरणों की काफी उपयोगिता है। फिर भी इन वर्गीकरणों पर गहराई से विचार करने पर यह स्पष्ट होता है कि भारत में हाल में उदित कई नए सामाजिक आंदोलनों को इनके अंतर्गत समाविष्ट नहीं किया जा सकता। इस कठिनाई का कारण यह नहीं है कि समाजशास्त्री इन आंदोलनों से अवगत नहीं हैं, बल्कि परिस्थितियों की जटिलता इसका मुख्य कारण है। कुछ आंदोलनों में मुद्दे और इनमें भाग लेने वाले लोग इस प्रकार मेलजुल जाते हैं कि इन दोनों के बीच विश्लेषण की दृष्टि से फर्क करना मुश्किल हो जाता है। उदाहरण के लिए, जब देश के विभिन्न भागों में जनजातीय समुदाय राजनीतिक स्वायत्तता के लिए संघर्ष कर रहे हों तब उनके आंदोलन केवल राजनीतिक ही नहीं

रहते उनमें सांस्कृतिक तथा सामाजिक मुद्दे भी शामिल हो जाते हैं। सांस्कृतिक पहचान का सवाल स्वायत्तता की राजनीतिक मांग के साथ जुड़ा होता है। अतः यह निर्णय करना कठिन हो जाता है कि इस तरह के आंदोलनों को जनजातीय आंदोलनों के अंतर्गत रखा जाए अथवा राजनीतिक आंदोलनों में। दूसरे आंदोलनों में भी जहां भागीदार और मुद्दे साथ-साथ विद्यमान हैं यह कठिनाई सामने आती है।

यहां इस तथ्य का उल्लेख आवश्यक है कि 'सामाजिक आंदोलन' शब्द का प्रयोग व्यापक अर्थ में होता है जिसमें कई प्रकार के आंदोलनों को सम्मिलित किया जाता है। प्रथम दृष्टि में कुछ आंदोलन राजनीतिक या आर्थिक होते हैं, फिर भी उन्हें सामाजिक आंदोलनों के अंतर्गत ही रखा जाता है। उन्हें सामाजिक आंदोलन इसलिए कहा जाता है क्योंकि वे सामाजिक परिवर्तन के प्रमुख स्रोत होते हैं। अब हम भारत वर्ष के सामाजिक आंदोलनों के प्रमुख प्रकारों पर सामाजिक परिवर्तन में इनकी भूमिका के परिप्रेक्ष्य में विचार करेंगे।

सुधार आंदोलन

सुधार आंदोलन समाज के मूल ढांचे में परिवर्तन किए बिना वर्तमान स्थिति को सुधारने का प्रयास करता है। सुधार अक्सर लोगों के विश्वास, धर्मविधि, अनुष्ठान और जीवन-पद्धति से जुड़े होते हैं। भारत में सुधार आंदोलन के कई उदाहरण हैं। मध्यकालीन भारत का भक्ति आंदोलन सबसे सुपरिचित सुधार आंदोलन था। यह एक अखिल भारतीय आंदोलन था जिसमें मुख्य रूप से निम्न जाति तथा निर्धन वर्ग के लोग सम्मिलित थे। वे ईश्वर से प्रेम को धर्म का सबसे मुख्य तत्त्व मानते थे तथा धार्मिक अनुष्ठान और जातीय अवरोधों का विरोध करते थे। इस प्रकार आंदोलन का प्राथमिक उद्देश्य लोगों की विश्वदृष्टि तथा सामाजिक रिवाजों में सुधार लाना था। इसने सामाजिक व्यवस्था में आमूल परिवर्तन लाने की कभी कोशिश नहीं की, बल्कि मूल प्रणाली में आंशिक परिवर्तनों की वकालत की थी।

भारत में उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी में कई सुधार आंदोलनों ने सामाजिक-सांस्कृतिक व्यवस्था को पुनर्जीवन दिया। इसका प्रारंभ सन 1828 से बंगाल में 'ब्रह्म समाज' की स्थापना से हुआ जिसकी शाखाएं देश के कई भागों में थीं। बंगाल में 'ब्रह्म समाज' के अतिरिक्त महाराष्ट्र में 'प्रार्थना समाज' और पंजाब तथा उत्तर भारत में 'आर्य समाज' हिंदुओं के कुछ अन्य सुधार आंदोलन थे। कुछ अन्य संगठनों ने भी सुधार के कार्यों को अंगीकार किया जिनका नेतृत्व पिछड़ी जातियों तथा अन्य धार्मिक समूहों के सदस्यों के हाथ में था। उदाहरण स्वरूप, महाराष्ट्र में ज्योतिबा फुले का 'सत्य शोधक समाज' और केरल में 'श्री नारायण धर्म परिपालन' जैसी संस्थाएं पिछड़ी जातियों द्वारा प्रारंभ हुई थीं। इसी प्रकार मुसलमानों में सुधारवादी तत्वों का प्रतिनिधित्व अहमदिया और अलीगढ़ आंदोलन ने किया था। सिक्खों की अपनी 'सिंह सभा' और पारसियों की 'रेहनुमाई मजदेयासन सभा' इसके उदाहरण हैं। इन आंदोलनों तथा संगठनों की मुख्य चिंता निःसंदेह धार्मिक थी, परंतु इनमें सामाजिक तत्त्व का अभाव नहीं था। इन आंदोलनों ने जनसामान्य के जीवन में उल्लेखनीय परिवर्तन किए।

जनजातीय आंदोलन

हम यहां जनजातीय शब्द का प्रयोग उन लोगों के लिए कर रहे हैं जिन्हें देश में अनुसूचित जनजाति कहा जाता है। इन्हें आदिवासी अथवा मूलवासी भी कहा जाता है। जनजातीय समुदाय पूरे देश में फैले हैं परंतु उत्तर-पूर्वी क्षेत्र में इनकी जनसंख्या अधिक है। वस्तुतः अरुणाचल प्रदेश, मेघालय, मिज़ोरम तथा नागालैंड में ये बहुसंख्यक हैं। उसी प्रकार छत्तीसगढ़ और झारखंड राज्यों में भी

जनजातीय जनसंख्या काफी ज्यादा है। कुल मिलाकर देश की जनसंख्या में जनजातियों की संख्या 8.08 प्रतिशत है। विभिन्न जनजातियों की अपनी अलग संस्कृति, भाषा, सामाजिक संरचना, मूल्य आदि हैं। इन समुदायों ने अपनी सांस्कृतिक और सामाजिक पहचान अक्षुण्ण रखी हुई है।

हमने इन समुदायों के बीच चलनेवाले आंदोलनों को जनजातीय आंदोलन की श्रेणी में रखा है। इन आंदोलनों की दिशा कई मुद्दों की ओर रही है। कुछ आंदोलन कृषि संबंधी मुद्दों पर चले हैं तो कुछ ने सांस्कृतिक तथा राजनीतिक सवालों को उठाया है। ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से जनजातीय आंदोलनों की एक लंबी शृंखला रही है। इन आंदोलनों के संघर्षों तथा मुद्दों के स्वरूपों में काफी भिन्नता रही है। अतः कई बार इन्हें 'जनजातीय विद्रोह', 'जनजातीय बगावत' अथवा 'जनजातीय क्रांति' के रूप में भी संबोधित किया गया है।

वी. राघवैय्या ने अपनी पुस्तक 'ट्राइबल रिवोल्ट्स' में सन 1778 और 1971 के बीच 70 जनजातीय विद्रोहों की एक सूची प्रस्तुत की है। सन 1978 में भारतीय मानव वैज्ञानिक सर्वेक्षण ने जनजातीय आंदोलनों से संबंधित एक सर्वेक्षण में छत्तीस प्रचलित आंदोलनों की चर्चा की है।

उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी में केंद्रीय तथा पूर्वी भारत में जनजातीय इलाकों में कई विद्रोह हुए थे। इतिहासकारों ने सन 1831-33 के कोल और भूमिज विद्रोह, 1855-56 के संथाल विद्रोह, 1874-1901 के बीच बिरसा मुंडा आंदोलन जैसे कुछ प्रमुख जनजातीय आंदोलनों की विशेष चर्चा की है। इस काल में ब्रिटिश शासकों द्वारा नए राजस्व कानून लागू करने के कारण जनजातीय लोगों की नृजातीय पहचान तथा आर्थिक स्थिति को गंभीर चुनौतियों का सामना करना पड़ा था। बढ़ा हुआ लगान, सूदखोरों द्वारा सूद का भारी बोझ तथा सरकारी अधिकारियों के अत्याचार जैसे मुद्दों से जनजातीय लोगों को अपनी ही ज़मीन पर काश्तकार बनने को मजबूर होना पड़ा था। इन सभी कारकों ने जनजातीय विद्रोह की एक कतार खड़ी कर दी थी।

यहां यह तथ्य इंगित करना आवश्यक है कि जनजातीय समूहों के बीच तनाव और असंतोष स्वतंत्रता के बाद भी समाप्त नहीं हुआ। वस्तुतः पिछले कुछ दशकों में कई नए जनजातीय आंदोलन उभरे हैं। इन सभी आंदोलनों में अधिकांशतः भूमि हस्तांतरण, बेगार, न्यूनतम मज़दूरी तथा गैर-जनजातीय भू-स्वामियों द्वारा शोषण जैसे सवाल मुख्य रहे हैं। आज जनजातीय आंदोलनों की दिशा में काफी परिवर्तन आया है और इसने राजनीतिक चरित्र ग्रहण कर लिया है। इन आंदोलनों का वर्णन कई प्रकार से हुआ है। समाजशास्त्रीय साहित्य में इन्हें जनजातीय राजनीतिक आंदोलन, नृजातीय आंदोलन, उप-राष्ट्रीय आंदोलन, एकात्मता आंदोलन के रूप में अभिवर्णित किया गया है।

छोटा नागपुर का झारखंड आंदोलन जनजातीय लोगों द्वारा 'डिक्कू' (बाहरी) लोगों से रक्षा हेतु अलग राज्य की मांग से संबद्ध था। यह मांग अंततः मान ली गई और सन 2000 में झारखंड नाम से अलग राज्य बना दिया गया। देश के समस्त जनजातीय आंदोलनों में नागा आंदोलन प्राचीनतम है जिसमें भारत संघ से पृथक राज्य बनाने की मांग की गई है। इसने आरंभ से ही सैन्य-विद्रोह का रूप धारण कर लिया था तथा यह अभी भी जारी है।

इस प्रकार यह स्पष्ट है कि स्वतंत्रता से पूर्व तथा इसके पश्चात जनजातीय आंदोलनों का न केवल प्रसार हुआ है, बल्कि उनमें मुद्दों, संगठन तथा नेतृत्व की दृष्टि से विविधता भी आई है। नृजातीय पहचान को समेकित करने की प्रवृत्ति मज़बूत हुई है। यह

प्रवृत्ति इन जनजातीय समुदायों की गतिशीलता प्रदर्शित करती है।

किसान आंदोलन

भारत में सामाजिक आंदोलनों के अध्ययन में किसान आंदोलनों का अध्ययन एक महत्त्वपूर्ण क्षेत्र के रूप में विकसित हुआ है। भारत मूलतः कृषि प्रधान देश है, अतः यह स्वाभाविक है कि समाजशास्त्रीय अन्वेषण में कृषि समस्याओं के अध्ययन ने एक केंद्रीय स्थान प्राप्त कर लिया है।

पिछले अध्याय में भूमि-सुधार की चर्चा करते समय हमने कृषि व्यवस्था की जटिलता को देखा था। भू-स्वामित्व का प्रतिमान, काश्तकारी, भूमि का उपयोग तथा उसका नियंत्रण, ये सभी मुद्दे खेतिहर संरचना का जटिल स्वरूप दिखाते हैं। खेतिहर संरचना की जटिलता खेतिहर वर्ग संरचना में भी प्रतिबिंबित होती है जो अरसे से ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में अवस्थित रही है। भूमि व्यवस्था की विविधता और कृषि संबंधों ने खेतिहर वर्गों की एक व्यापक संरचना को उत्पन्न किया है। यह संरचना अलग-अलग क्षेत्रों में भिन्न-भिन्न रही है। इस तरह डैनियल थॉरनर ने भू-स्वामित्व के स्वरूप और इनसे प्राप्त होने वाली आय के आधार पर भारत में तीन प्रमुख खेतिहर वर्गों को चिह्नित किया है – (क) मालिक, (ख) किसान और (ग) मजदूर। मालिकों की श्रेणी में बड़े भूमिधारियों तथा धनी भू-स्वामियों को रखा गया है। किसान, मालिक से नीचे हैं, जिसमें मुख्यतः स्वयं खेती करने वाले भू-स्वामी आते हैं। वे छोटे भू-स्वामी तथा काश्तकार होते हैं। मज़दूर दूसरे के खेतों में काम करके अपनी जीविका चलाते हैं। इस श्रेणी के अंतर्गत निर्धन काश्तकार, बटाईदार और भूमिहीन श्रमिक को रखा गया है। खेतिहर वर्गों का यह वर्गीकरण मोटे तौर पर भारतीय वास्तविकता को प्रतिबिंबित करता है।

किंतु यहां इस तथ्य को स्वीकार करने की आवश्यकता है कि देश के विभिन्न भागों में खेतिहर अधिक्रम और जातीय अधिक्रम के बीच एक तादात्म्य है। धनी भू-स्वामी और सूदखोर मुख्य रूप से ऊंची जातियों के होते हैं। मध्यम और छोटे कृषक परंपरागत खेतिहर जातियों से आते हैं तथा भूमिहीन श्रमिक मुख्यतया निम्न जातियों के होते हैं। यह स्थिति मात्र एक प्रतिमान दर्शाती है। ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों की स्थिति का यह सटीक द्योतक नहीं है।

विभिन्न खेतिहर वर्गों द्वारा चलाए गए आंदोलनों की संरचनात्मक पृष्ठभूमि को समझने के उद्देश्य से ही हमने यहां खेतिहर वर्ग संरचना के स्वरूप का वर्णन किया है। डी. एन. धनाग्रे द्वारा भारत में किसान आंदोलनों के अध्ययन से हमें इन आंदोलनों के स्वरूप को जानने में काफ़ी मदद मिलती है। धनाग्रे के अनुसार, 'किसान आंदोलन' शब्द से तात्पर्य उन सभी प्रकार के सामूहिक प्रयासों से है जो किसानों के विभिन्न स्तरों द्वारा शोषकों के प्रति विरोध व्यक्त करते हुए व्यवस्था में आमूल परिवर्तन के लिए अथवा बिना व्यवस्था परिवर्तन के कुछ खास शिकायतों को दूर करने के लिए किए गए हों। इस प्रकार किसान आंदोलन के अंतर्गत सभी प्रकार के आंदोलनों का समावेश है, वे चाहे हिंसक हों अथवा अहिंसक, संगठित हों या छिट-पुट।

भारत में किसान आंदोलन का एक लंबा इतिहास है। उन्नीसवीं सदी में भारत को किसान वीरता पर सामग्री का खज़ाना माना जाता है। इस युग का सबसे उग्र किसान आंदोलन बंगाल का सन 1859-60 का नील विद्रोह था। केवल एक दशक बाद 1872-1873 में बंगाल के पबना और बोगरा में हिंसक झड़पें हुईं। ये संघर्ष ज़मींदारों के खिलाफ थे जो शोषण एवं अत्याचार के प्रतीक थे। भू-स्वामी तथा सूदखोर वर्गों ने अपनी स्थिति को न केवल ज़मींदारी क्षेत्रों में

बल्कि रैयतवाड़ी तथा महलवाड़ी क्षेत्रों में भी मज़बूत कर लिया था। छोटे भू-स्वामी, रैयत और बटाईदार सभी सूदखोरों के अत्याचार से पीड़ित थे। फलस्वरूप इन शक्तिशाली खेतिहर वर्गों के उत्पीड़न के विरुद्ध किसानों ने बगावत कर दी। इनमें एक आंदोलन पश्चिमी महाराष्ट्र रैयतवाड़ी इलाके में सन 1875 में हुआ जिसे दक्कन दंगा कहा जाता है। पूरी उन्नीसवीं सदी में दक्षिण भारत के मालावार क्षेत्र में मोपला विद्रोहों की एक श्रृंखला चलती रही। ये विद्रोह निर्धन मोपला किसानों के दीर्घकालिक खेतिहर असंतोष के प्रतीक थे।

यह एक रोचक तथ्य है कि बीसवीं शताब्दी के प्रारंभ में किसानों की शिकायतें भी भारतीय स्वतंत्रता आंदोलन का एक हिस्सा बन गईं। सन 1917 का चंपारण सत्याग्रह, 1918 का खेड़ा सत्याग्रह और सन 1928 का बारदोली सत्याग्रह ब्रिटिश विरोधी कुछ प्रमुख अहिंसक संघर्ष थे। महात्मा गांधी स्वयं इन सत्याग्रहों में शामिल थे, अत: इन्हें आम तौर से गांधीवादी किसान आंदोलन कहा जाता है। यद्यपि इनमें अधिकांश आंदोलनों ने अपेक्षाकृत छोटे खेतिहर मुद्दों को उठाया था, परंतु वे जनता के बीच राजनीतिक चेतना जगाने में सफल रहे। इस प्रकार इन आंदोलनों का सबसे महत्त्वपूर्ण पक्ष यह था कि वे एक साथ राष्ट्रीय स्वतंत्रता आंदोलन से जुड़े थे।

देश के अन्य भागों के किसान भी निष्क्रिय नहीं थे। वे भी अपनी शिकायतों को व्यक्त करने के लिए अत्यंत व्यग्र थे। सन 1920 और 1946 के बीच बिहार तथा बंगाल में कई किसान संगठनों और आंदोलनों का प्रादुर्भाव हुआ जिसने मध्यम और निर्धन किसानों की दुखदायी परिस्थिति के विरुद्ध आवाज़ उठाई।

स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के ठीक पहले बंगाल में सन 1946-47 का तिभागा संघर्ष निश्चित रूप से सभी किसान आंदोलनों में सर्वाधिक प्रभावकारी और व्यापक था। यह बरगदारों (शेयरक्रापर्स) का संघर्ष था जो अपनी उपज का एक-तिहाई हिस्सा अपने पास रखना चाहते थे। यह आंदोलन किसानों के राजनीतिकरण का फल था जो भारतीय साम्यवादी दल और किसान सभा के प्रयास से संभव हो सका। तेलंगाना का किसान संघर्ष जो भारतीय स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के समय उत्पन्न हुआ, निर्धन किसानों का एक अन्य महत्त्वपूर्ण संघर्ष था। यह सन 1946 में सामंती हैदराबादी राज्य के निज़ाम शासित क्षेत्र में विकसित हुआ और करीब पांच वर्षों तक चलकर अक्तूबर 1951 में समाप्त हुआ।

हमने यहां किसान आंदोलनों के स्वरूप तथा विशेषताओं की संक्षिप्त व्याख्या सामाजिक परिवर्तन में सामाजिक आंदोलनों की भूमिका से आपको परिचित कराने के लिए की है। यह सही है कि ये आंदोलन अपने लक्ष्यों को प्राप्त करने में हमेशा सफल नहीं हुए हैं, परंतु यह निश्चित है कि इसने एक वातावरण तैयार किया जिसने स्वतंत्रता के उपरांत भूमि-सुधारों को लाने में मदद की।

दलित आंदोलन

आम तौर पर, हिंदू जाति व्यवस्था में 'अछूतों' को प्रशासनिक भाषा में अनुसूचित जाति कहा जाता है। इसी जातीय श्रेणी के लोगों को हरिजन भी कहा जाता है, जिसका अर्थ 'ईश्वर की संतान' होता है। इस शब्द का प्रयोग महात्मा गांधी ने सन 1933 में पहली बार किया था। किंतु हरिजन शब्द ने एक नकारात्मक अर्थ उपार्जित कर लिया है। इस जाति के लोग अपने को दलित कहलाना अधिक पसंद करते हैं। हमने यहां दलित आंदोलन शब्द का इस्तेमाल उन सभी आंदोलनों के लिए किया है जो दलितों के मुद्दों से संबंधित रहे हैं। अत: इसके अंतर्गत जाति विरोधी आंदोलन,

गैर-ब्राह्मण आंदोलन तथा छुआछूत के विरुद्ध गांधी जी द्वारा चलाए गए सामाजिक आंदोलनों का समावेश किया गया है। किसान तथा सुधार आंदोलनों की तरह दलित आंदोलन भी स्वतंत्रता के पहले चलाया गया था। इन आंदोलनों का विश्लेषण मोटे तौर पर दो श्रेणियों – गैर-ब्राह्मण आंदोलन तथा दलित आंदोलन में विभक्त करके किया गया है। जहां जाति विरोधी गैर-ब्राह्मण आंदोलन महाराष्ट्र और तमिलनाडु में मज़बूत था, वहीं दलित आंदोलन पूरे देश में फैला था। पंजाब में आदि-धर्म आंदोलन, उत्तर प्रदेश में सतनामी आंदोलन, केरल में नारायण गुरु का आंदोलन तथा तमिलनाडु का आदि द्रविड़ आंदोलन कुछ प्रमुख दलित आंदोलन रहे हैं। वृहत जाति विरोधी आंदोलनों का नेतृत्व ज्योतिबा फुले, बाबा साहेब अंबेडकर और इ. बी. रामासामी पेरियार जैसे प्रमुख नेताओं ने किया था। इन सबने शोषक व्यवस्था पर सभी स्तरों से प्रहार किया था। फिर भी दलित आंदोलन अनिवार्य रूप से अंबेडकर के नाम से जुड़ा है। वे इसके ऐतिहासिक नेता थे और इसकी विचारधारा के प्रणेता भी। शुरू में यह आंदोलन महाराष्ट्र तक ही सीमित था परंतु सन 1930 और 1940 के दौरान यह देश के विभिन्न भागों में फैल गया। यद्यपि डा. अंबेडकर द्वारा गठित संगठनों जैसे अनुसूचित जाति फेडरेशन और इसकी उत्तराधिकारी रिपब्लिकन पार्टी ने कभी भी अखिल भारतीय महत्ता प्राप्त नहीं की किंतु इनकी मान्यताएं देश के विभिन्न भागों के कई स्थानीय आंदोलनों को प्रभावित करने में सफल रहीं । इन आंदोलनों का फैलाव दलित समूहों में बढ़ती चेतना का द्योतक था। देश में राजनीतिकरण की बढ़ती प्रवृत्ति ने भी दलितों की अलग पहचान को पुष्ट किया है। वे अब राजनीतिक दृष्टि से ऊंची जातियों पर निर्भर नहीं हैं। फलस्वरूप वे भारतीय शक्ति संरचना को प्रभावित कर पाए हैं।

दलित आंदोलन की प्रवृत्ति का दूसरा मुख्य पक्ष दलित पैंथर आंदोलन के आविर्भाव में परिलक्षित होता है जिसका प्रारंभ सन 1970 के दशक में महाराष्ट्र के दलितों द्वारा हुआ। प्रारंभिक दिनों में यह महाराष्ट्र के नगरीय इलाकों में ही केंद्रित था, परंतु बाद में यह कई राज्यों में फैल गया। दलित पैंथर प्रधान संस्कृति की भर्त्सना करते हैं और साथ ही दलित वर्गों की वैकल्पिक सांस्कृतिक पहचान के स्वरूप को सुस्पष्ट करते हैं। इन लोगों ने अपने विचारों के प्रसार के लिए कविताएं, कहानियां, नाटक आदि प्रकाशित किए हैं। सामान्यतया इन्हें दलित साहित्य के रूप में जाना जाता है और इनका इस्तेमाल हिंदुओं की बौद्धिक परंपरा को चुनौती देने के लिए किया जाता है।

इन आंदोलनों का सबसे महत्त्वपूर्ण परिणाम दलित अस्मिता को समेकित करने में हुआ है। दलितों के संगठन के दबाव ने उन पर आरोपित सामाजिक असमर्थताओं को काफी हद तक दूर किया है। पिछले दशक की तुलना में उनकी सामाजिक और आर्थिक स्थिति में काफी सुधार हुआ है। वर्तमान आर्थिक व्यवस्था के बंधनों से मुक्ति के साथ दलितों का उत्थान आवश्यक रूप से जुड़ा हुआ है। आर्थिक व्यवस्था पर चूंकि अभी भी ऊंची जातियों का आधिपत्य है, अत: जाति एवं वर्ग व्यवस्था में दलितों का स्थान आज भी नीचे बना हुआ है।

महिला आंदोलन

भारत में महिला आंदोलन की उत्पत्ति की खोज कठिन है। आंदोलन के अधिकांश वृत्तांत इसका प्रारंभ उन्नीसवीं सदी से मानते हैं। किंतु हाल में सामाजिक इतिहासकारों ने इसके इतिहास का वर्णन औपनिवेशिक काल के पूर्व से किया है। उनका सुझाव है कि महिला आंदोलन की झलक सबसे पहले सोलहवीं और सत्रहवीं शताब्दियों के भक्ति और सूफी आंदोलनों

में मिलती है। परंतु हमारे लिए यह आवश्यक नहीं है कि हम यहां महिला आंदोलन के उद्‌भव काल से संबंधित विवाद में पड़ें। हमारे लिए मुख्य मुद्‌दा, इस तथ्य को समझना है कि महिलाओं की परिस्थिति का निर्धारण पुरुषों की सत्ता से ही होता रहा है। महिलाओं की दमित स्थिति बाल विवाह, बहुविवाह, विधवा विवाह पर रोक, सती तथा पर्दा प्रथा जैसे सामाजिक रिवाजों में प्रतिबिंबित होती है। ये रिवाज तब तक चलते रहे जब तक उन्नीसवीं सदी के समाज-सुधारकों ने इनको चुनौती नहीं दी। अतः अधिकांश विद्‌वानों का मानना है कि भारत में महिला आंदोलन का प्रारंभ सामाजिक सुधार आंदोलन के एक हिस्से के रूप में हुआ था। इस प्रकार महिलाओं की समस्याओं को प्रकाश में लाने की प्रक्रिया उन्नीसवीं सदी से शुरू हुई। किंतु बीसवीं सदी के प्रारंभ में महात्मा गांधी ने महिलाओं की निम्न स्थिति पर चिंता व्यक्त की। इनके ही प्रयासों से काफी संख्या में महिलाएं घरों से बाहर आईं और स्वतंत्रता आंदोलन में शामिल हुईं। महिलाओं की स्थिति को उन्नत करने के लिए उन्होंने एक क्रांतिकारी तरीके का इस्तेमाल किया। गांधी जी ने प्रभावकारी ढंग से तर्क दिया कि महिलाओं को सामाजिक और कानूनी असमर्थताओं से मुक्त करना चाहिए। अभिभावकत्व, उत्तराधिकार तथा विवाह जैसे मुद्‌दों पर उन्होंने ज़ोर दिया।

जिन महिलाओं ने राष्ट्रीय आंदोलन में हिस्सा लिया उन्होंने आत्मनिर्भरता, स्वदेशी और नारी शिक्षा के महत्त्व को समझा। महिलाओं में इस राजनीतिक चेतना ने सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में उनके लिए उपलब्ध स्थान का दायरा बढ़ा दिया।

इसी समय कई महिला संगठनों का उदय हुआ जिससे सामाजिक-राजनीतिक कार्यों में महिलाओं की बढ़ती भूमिका के लिए मार्ग प्रशस्त हुआ। इनमें प्रमुख संगठन थे – 'अखिल भारतीय महिला समिति' (ऑल इंडिया विमेन्स एसोसिएशन) तथा 'भारतीय महिला समिति' (द इंडियन विमेन्स एसोसिएशन)। इन संगठनों की शाखाएं देश के विभिन्न भागों में थीं। इनके कार्य मुख्यतः महिला शिक्षा, स्वास्थ्य तथा सफाई में सुधार, महिलाओं के लिए मताधिकार तथा महिला श्रमिकों के लिए मातृत्व-लाभ जैसे विषयों पर क़ेंद्रित थे। इस प्रकार ये संगठन लिंग समानता और महिला अधिकारों पर विचार-विमर्श प्रारंभ करने में सफल रहे।

सभी प्रकार की लिंग असमानताओं को दूर करने के आश्वासन के साथ ही महिला आंदोलन का राष्ट्रीय चरण स्वतंत्रता के पश्चात समाप्त हुआ। बाद में सामाजिक पुनर्निर्माण के जो कदम उठाए गए उसने भी इस लक्ष्य की पुष्टि की। स्वभावतः, करीब दो दशकों सन 1970 तक महिला आंदोलनों की गति धीमी रही। इस बीच महिलाओं ने काफी संख्या में देश के भिन्न भागों में स्थानीय स्तर पर चल रहे कई संघर्षों में भाग लिया। महाराष्ट्र के शाहदा आंदोलन, गुजरात तथा महाराष्ट्र में मूल्य-वृद्‌धि विरोध आंदोलन, जयप्रकाश नारायण के नेतृत्व वाले बिहार आंदोलन जैसे आंदोलनों में महिलाओं की भूमिका एवं भागीदारी आज भी हमें स्मरण है। संघर्ष तथा विकास का दोहरा लक्ष्य 'सेवा' (एस.ई.डब्लू. ए. यानी सेल्फ इंप्लाइड विमेन्स एसोसिएशन) जैसे संगठनों ने हाथ में लिया। सभी प्रकार के अन्यायों के खिलाफ इनकी लड़ाई चली।

भारत में महिला आंदोलनों के अध्ययन में जुटे समाजशास्त्रियों ने यह दिखलाया है कि स्वायत्त महिला आंदोलन की शुरुआत सन 1970 के बाद हुई। यह महिलाओं की स्थिति से संबंधित रिपोर्ट प्रकाशित होने के साथ ही सामने आया। इस रिपोर्ट ने स्त्री-पुरुष अनुपात, जीवन प्रत्याशा, साक्षरता तथा जीवन में मिलने वाले अवसरों में निहित लिंग समानताओं जैसे सवालों को प्रकट किया। सरकार ने महिलाओं के

लिए विशेष कार्यक्रमों के क्रियान्वयन के लिए कदम उठाए। दूसरी ओर, लिंग और पुरुषवादी संस्कृति पर आधारित श्रम विभाजन के विरुद्ध संघर्ष के लिए स्थानीय तथा क्षेत्रीय स्तरों पर कई स्वायत्त महिला समूहों का गठन हुआ। इन बुनियादी सवालों के अतिरिक्त, स्वायत्त महिला संगठनों ने महिला हिंसा, अत्याचार, दहेज-हत्या, बलात्कार और घरेलू हिंसा आदि कई तात्कालिक मुद्दों को भी अपने हाथ में लिया। इन्होंने पीड़ित महिलाओं की ओर से विरोध जुलूस एवं सहायता सेवाओं को विकसित किया, जैसे – पीड़ित महिलाओं की तरफ से कानूनी लड़ाई लड़ना।

यहां ध्यान देने योग्य बात यह है कि भारत में महिला आंदोलनों में नारीवाद के विचार पर एक गंभीर बहस चल पड़ी है। नारीवाद राजनीतिक विचारधारा का एक जटिल स्वरूप है जिसका व्यवहार महिला समानता के संघर्ष के लिए महिला आंदोलनों द्वारा होता है। नारीवाद की परिभाषा कई प्रकार से परस्पर संबंधित ढांचों के रूप में भी की जा सकती है जिसका प्रयोग लिंग असमानता की सामाजिक वास्तविकता के निर्माण और पुष्टिकरण के अवलोकन तथा विश्लेषण के लिए किया जाता है। नारीवाद के इस परिप्रेक्ष्य में कुछ सक्रिय कार्यकर्त्ताओं ने भारतीय वास्तविकता के लिए नारीवाद की पश्चिमी अवधारणा की उपयुक्तता पर ही प्रश्न खड़ा कर दिया है। इनका तर्क है कि भारत में पुरुषों के वर्चस्व का स्वरूप पश्चिमी समाज से भिन्न है। अतएव, पुरुषों के विरुद्ध मांग तथा प्रतिरोध भी अलग है। इस दृष्टि से सक्रिय महिला एवं 'मानुषी' की संपादक मधु किश्वर ने अपनी परंपराओं की ओर दृष्टिपात करने की आवश्यकता पर जोर दिया है। इनका विचार है कि सांस्कृतिक परंपराओं के अंतर्गत हमें विध्वंसकारी तत्त्वों को शक्तिदायक तत्त्वों से अलग करना चाहिए और फिर इन शक्तियों का उपयोग परंपरा को बदलने में शुरु करना चाहिए। ''हमारी सांस्कृतिक परंपराओं में प्रतिक्रियावादी तथा नारी विरोधी विचारों को समाप्त करने की पर्याप्त क्षमता है, यदि हम इन शक्तियों की पहचान करें और इनका रचनात्मक इस्तेमाल करें।'' अत: भारतीय संदर्भ में नारीवाद केवल सैद्धांतिक बहस का ही सवाल नहीं है, बल्कि सामाजिक परिवर्तन का एक उपागम भी है। निष्कर्षत: हम कह सकते हैं कि भारत में महिला आंदोलनों ने ऐतिहासिक भूमिका अदा की है और महिलाओं के मुद्दों को राष्ट्रीय कार्यसूची में ला दिया है।

शब्दावली

असहमति – यह उन विचारों एवं गतिविधियों के संदर्भ में है जो कि उस समय समाज में प्रचलित विचारों एवं गतिविधियों से भिन्न होते हैं।

विरोध – विरोध स्पष्ट रूप से व्यक्त की गई असहमति है। यह अधिक स्थायी विरोध एवं संघर्ष को दर्शाता है।

सामाजिक आंदोलन – यह एक स्थिति में किया गया सामूहिक प्रयास है जो कि सामाजिक परिवर्तन के किसी पक्ष पर केंद्रित होता है।

संबद्ध वंचना (रिलेटिव डिप्राइवेशन) – यह स्थिति तब उत्पन्न होती है जब व्यक्ति या समूह यह महसूस करते हैं कि वे जिसके लायक हैं उसे प्राप्त नहीं कर पा रहे हैं।

अभ्यास प्रश्न

1. असहमति का क्या अर्थ है ?
2. विरोध शब्द से आप क्या समझते हैं ?
3. सामाजिक आंदोलन क्या है ? सामाजिक आंदोलन की विशेषताओं पर प्रकाश डालिए।
4. सामाजिक आंदोलन की उत्पत्ति और स्रोतों पर चर्चा कीजिए।
5. आप सामाजिक आंदोलनों को किस तरह वर्गीकृत करेंगे?
6. सुधार आंदोलन क्या है ?
7. भारत में भक्ति आंदोलन के क्या उद्देश्य थे ?
8. जनजातीय संस्कृति एवं उनके सामाजिक अस्तित्व को बनाए रखने में सामाजिक आंदोलनों की भूमिका पर प्रकाश डालिए।
9. भारत में कृषक आंदोलन की प्रकृति एवं विशेषताओं पर प्रकाश डालिए।
10. सामाजिक परिवर्तन एवं जागरूकता लाने में महिलाओं की भूमिका की चर्चा कीजिए ।
11. दलित आंदोलन के परिणामों पर प्रकाश डालिए।

संदर्भ-ग्रंथ

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अध्याय 10

सामाजिक विचलन

प्रत्येक समाज में सामाजिक मानदंडों को तोड़ने वाले लोग मिलते हैं। कुछ वैवाहिक एवं पारिवारिक मानदंडों की उपेक्षा करते हैं तो कुछ दुकान में चोरी करने वाले क्रियाकलापों, नशीली दवाओं के सेवन तथा मद्यसेवन से जुड़े रहते हैं। ये सभी कार्य विचलन के उदाहरण हैं। इस अर्थ में विचलन एक ऐसा व्यवहार है जो मानदंडों का अतिक्रमण करता है।

कोई भी समाज मानदंडों से पूर्ण अनुरूपता का दावा नहीं कर सकता। समाज मानदंडों की अनुरूपता तथा विचलन के बीच एक संतुलन बनाए रखता है। आपराधिक व्यवहार से सविनय अवज्ञा तक सभी प्रकार के व्यवहारों को विचलन माना जाता है, क्योंकि लोग इसे इसी रूप में समझते हैं और व्याख्या करते हैं। मानदंड और विचलन सांस्कृतिक मूल्यों से जुड़े होते हैं, अत: विचलन को समझना सामाजिक दृष्टि से महत्त्वपूर्ण है क्योंकि इसका परिणाम न केवल व्यक्तियों को बल्कि संपूर्ण समाज को झेलना पड़ता है। इस अध्याय में हम सामाजिक विचलन के दो महत्त्वपूर्ण पक्षों – अपराध तथा हिंसा पर विचार करेंगे।

अपराध की व्याख्या

अपराध की परिभाषा सामाजिक तथा कानूनी दोनों अर्थों में की गई है। आपराधिक व्यवहार के सभी अध्ययनों ने अपराध के कानूनी पक्षों को उजागर किया है, अत: अपराध की कानूनी परिभाषा अधिक लोकप्रिय है। एक मान्य कानूनी परिभाषा के अनुसार, "अपराध बिना बचाव अथवा औचित्य के फौजदारी कानून का उल्लंघन करने के लिए जानबूझकर किया गया कार्य है।" अत: अपराध जानबूझकर किया गया कार्य है और व्यक्ति अपने इस कार्य का परिणाम जानता है। उदाहरण के लिए, यदि कोई व्यक्ति बिना किसी विशेष उद्देश्य के भी अर्थात बिना जान लेने के उद्देश्य से दूसरे व्यक्ति को गोली मारता है तब वह अपराध करता है क्योंकि वह जानता है कि इससे उसकी जान जा सकती है अथवा वह घायल हो सकता है। अपराध किसी स्थान विशेष के फौजदारी कानून का उल्लंघन है। इसके परिणामस्वरूप, जब कभी ऐसी घटना घटती है, राज्य (पुलिस) गलती करने वाले के विरुद्ध कार्रवाई करता है। इस परिभाषा का दूसरा मूल तत्त्व यह है कि अपराध बिना किसी औचित्य के किया जाता है। अतएव, यदि यह साबित हो जाता है कि यह कार्यवाही आत्मरक्षा के लिए की गई है, तब इससे क्षति अथवा नुकसान होते हुए भी इसे अपराध नहीं माना जाता है। इस प्रकार अपराध की कानूनी परिभाषा उन परिस्थितियों पर बल देती है जिनमें अपराध किया गया हो।

दूसरी ओर, अपराध की सामाजिक व्याख्या इसके कानूनी पक्षों से अलग तत्त्वों पर ज़ोर देती है।

इस अर्थ में, अपराध ऐसा व्यवहार अथवा कार्य है जो किसी समुदाय के सामाजिक नियमों का अतिक्रमण करता है। इस प्रकार के विचलन को असामाजिक कार्य माना जाता है। चूंकि अपराध सामाजिक शांति को खतरे में डालता है और व्यक्ति तथा संपत्ति पर चोट करता है, अत: यह समाज एवं व्यक्ति दोनों के लिए अकार्य है। अतएव समाजशास्त्री न केवल चोरी, डकैती और हत्या को अपराध मानते हैं, बल्कि कला विध्वंस, आत्महत्या, नशीली दवाओं के व्यसन आदि को भी इस श्रेणी में रखते हैं।

यह स्मरण रखना आवश्यक है कि अपराध की सामाजिक परिभाषा अपराध के स्रोत के लिए समाज के स्वरूप की ओर नज़र डालती है न कि व्यक्ति (अपराधी) के जैविकीय अथवा मनोवैज्ञानिक स्वरूप की ओर। अत: रॉबर्ट के. मर्टन जैसे समाजशास्त्री का तर्क है कि विचलन संस्कृति और समाज की संरचना का प्रतिफल है। यह 'व्याधिकीय व्यक्तित्व' का परिणाम नहीं है। विभिन्न समाजों के मानदंड तथा मूल्य अलग-अलग होते हैं, अत: इनकी अनुरूपता की प्रकृति में भी भिन्नता होती है। अपराध का संबंध किसी समाज में सामाजिक शक्ति की मात्रा और सामाजिक नियंत्रण की सीमा से भी होता है। यह सामाजिक शक्ति के बिखराव को प्रतिबिंबित करता है, क्योंकि यह स्थिति दर्शाती है कि व्यक्ति सार्वजनिक दबाव से मुक्त है।

स्पष्टत: अपराध की कानूनी और सामाजिक परिभाषाएं अपराध के भिन्न-भिन्न पक्षों पर बल देती हैं। कानूनी आयाम मूलत: कानूनी संहिता पर आधारित है, जबकि सामाजिक आयाम समाज के मानदंडों को प्रकट करता है। पहला संहिताबद्ध होता है और सामान्यत: लिपिबद्ध भी, जबकि दूसरा प्राय: अमूर्त्त तथा प्रखर होता है। अधिकांशत: ये दोनों परस्पर मेल नहीं खाते। उदाहरण के लिए, भारत में दहेज विरोधी कानून के अंतर्गत दहेज अब एक अपराध है। किंतु इसका फैलाव पूरे देश में आज भी है। अत: दहेज एक अपराध है, किंतु इसे सामाजिक स्वीकृति प्राप्त है, क्योंकि लोग बेझिझक इस व्यवहार में शामिल हैं। इस तरह, यह दिखाना कठिन हो जाता है कि मानदंड का कौन-सा अतिक्रमण अपराध है और कौन-सा नहीं। फिर भी, अपराध की कानूनी परिभाषा संक्षिप्त एवं सुस्पष्ट है, अत: सभी व्यावहारिक उद्देश्यों के लिए इसका इस्तेमाल होता है। अपराध संबंधी आंकड़ों को एकत्र करने में तथा शासकीय कार्यों में इनका प्रयोग होता है।

आपराधिक व्यवहार की व्याख्या

अन्य कई सामाजिक घटनाओं की तरह आपराधिक व्यवहार की व्याख्या भी विभिन्न विद्वानों द्वारा भिन्न-भिन्न रूपों में की गई है। अतएव, अपराधपूर्ण व्यवहार की कोई एक व्याख्या नहीं है। हम यहां अपराध की चार व्याख्याओं पर विचार करेंगे – जैविकीय, मनोवैज्ञानिक, आर्थिक तथा समाजशास्त्रीय।

अपराध की जैविकीय व्याख्या को 'जन्मजात अपराधी' सिद्धांत भी कहा जाता है। यह मुख्य रूप से आपराधिक व्यवहार के शारीरिक और वंशानुगत पक्षों पर आधारित है। इस विश्लेषण के अनुसार अपराध का मुख्य कारण 'जैविकीय हीनता' होता है। इसे मानने वालों का विश्वास है कि जैविकीय हीनता वंशानुगत होती है जो ढालू ललाट, पतले होंठ, शरीर पर बाल, छोटे कान आदि शारीरिक विशेषताओं में प्रतिबिंबित होती है। अत: विशेष प्रकार की जैविकीय हीनता विशेष प्रकृति के अपराध को जन्म देती है। इस अर्थ में अपराधियों का एक अलग समूह होता है और वे जन्मजात होते हैं, समाज द्वारा बनाए नहीं जाते। अपराध की इस व्याख्या की न केवल आलोचना हुई है बल्कि इसे करीब-करीब त्याग दिया गया है।

जैविकीय सिद्धांत की अवधारणा का कोई वैज्ञानिक आधार नहीं है और यह एकतरफा है। अपराध जैविकीय नहीं बल्कि एक सामाजिक तथ्य है। अतः इस समस्या के सीखने तथा सामाजिक अनुभवों एवं पहलुओं को ध्यान में रखे बगैर जैविकीय कारक की चर्चा अर्थहीन है।

अपराध के कारणों की मनोवैज्ञानिक व्याख्या मुख्यतः मानसिक कमज़ोरी और अपराध के आपसी रिश्तों से संबंधित है। कैदियों पर किए गए अपने अध्ययन के आधार पर चार्ल्स गोरिंग ने यह निष्कर्ष निकाला कि सामान्य जनसंख्या की तुलना में कैदी जनसंख्या में 'मानसिक कमज़ोरी' कहीं ज़्यादा थी। अतः इन्होंने निष्कर्ष दिया कि मानसिक कमज़ोरी अपराध का एक महत्त्वपूर्ण कारण थी। एक अन्य अध्ययन में बुद्धि-परीक्षण के बाद कहा गया कि अपराध का एक महत्त्वपूर्ण कारण निम्न स्तर की मानसिकता या मंद बुद्धि होना था। मोटे तौर पर, मनोवैज्ञानिक तत्त्व जैसे वर्चस्व स्थापन या अधीनता, आशावाद या निराशावाद व्यवहार के तरीकों को तय करते हैं जो छोटे बच्चों में सुस्थापित होते हैं। यह संवेगात्मक अशांति पैदा कर अपचार और अपराध की ओर प्रेरित करते हैं। इस प्रकार, अपराध की मनोवैज्ञानिक व्याख्या आपराधिक व्यवहार के कारणों को मनुष्य के मनोविज्ञान में ढूंढ़ने का प्रयास करती है।

आपराधिक व्यवहार के जैविकीय और मनोवैज्ञानिक कारणों के विपरीत कुछ विद्वानों ने अपराध को समाज की आर्थिक संरचना से जोड़ा है। वे आपराधिक व्यवहार के आर्थिक प्रभावों पर अपना ध्यान केंद्रित करते हैं। यह उपागम दर्शाता है कि अपराधी आर्थिक वातावरण, जिसमें वह रहता है, की उपज है। अपराध और गरीबी के अंतःसंबंधों को दिखाते हुए यह निष्कर्ष निकाला गया है कि धनवानों की तुलना में गरीबों के बीच अपराध की दर अधिक है। एक अंग्रेज़ अपराध वैज्ञानिक सिरिल बर्ट ने अपने अध्ययन में पाया कि निश्चित समय में 19 प्रतिशत बाल अपराधी अत्यंत गरीब परिवारों के थे, जबकि 37 प्रतिशत गरीब परिवारों के। मार्क्सवादी उपागम में भी आपराधिक की आर्थिक व्याख्या मिलती है। यद्यपि मार्क्स ने आपराधिक व्यवहार के सिद्धांत की कोई अलग चर्चा नहीं की है, किंतु उनका विचार था कि आर्थिक व्यवस्था सामाजिक संबंधों के विभिन्न आयामों का निर्धारण करती है। समाज में विद्यमान आर्थिक असमानता ही आपराधिक व्यवहार के लिए वातावरण तैयार करती है। संपत्ति तथा शक्ति का असमान वितरण वर्ग भेद उत्पन्न करता है जो शोषित एवं बेरोज़गार व्यक्तियों को अपराधी बनाता है। फिर भी, गरीबी तथा अपराध के बीच प्रत्यक्ष संबंध दिखाना कठिन है। अपराधी केवल गरीबों में ही नहीं पाए जाते। उच्च वर्ग में भी अपराधियों की संख्या अच्छी-खासी है। हमें गरीब परिवारों में अधिक अपराधी मिलते हैं क्योंकि इनका पता लगाना सहज है। दूसरी ओर, धनवान और उच्च वर्ग के अपराधी अपने प्रभाव और शक्ति के कारण गिरफ्तारी और दोषसिद्धि से बच निकलते हैं।

अंत में हम अपराध की समाजशास्त्रीय व्याख्या पर नज़र डालें। समाजशास्त्रियों का तर्क है कि अपराध सीखा हुआ व्यवहार है और सामाजिक वातावरण पर निर्भर करता है। किंतु अपराध के कारण के इस मूल तत्त्व को समाजशास्त्रियों द्वारा अलग-अलग ढंग से देखा गया है।

सामाजिक विघटन का सिद्धांत अपराध की व्याख्या व्याधिकीय रहन-सहन की स्थिति तथा सौहार्दपूर्ण संबंधों के टूटने के आधार पर करता है। यद्यपि यह व्याख्या अपराध के अध्ययन से संबंधित नहीं थी तथापि नगरीय जीवन की समस्याओं के अध्ययनों के दौरान यह प्रकट हुई। इस उपागम के अनुसार,

अपराधियों और पथभ्रष्टों को एक छोटी संख्या के रूप में देखा जा सकता है। यह छोटा समूह होता है जो समाज में हाशिए पर अवस्थित होता है। मुख्य तौर पर यह त्रुटिपूर्ण समाजीकरण का परिणाम है।

संरचनात्मक उपागम अपराध तथा सामाजिक संरचना के बीच के रिश्ते को दिखाता है। दुर्खाइम का विचार था कि किसी समाज में विद्यमान एकीकरण की मात्रा और संशक्ति से विचलन के कारणों का संबंध है। इस अर्थ में, विचलित व्यवहार समाज में रहने का एक सामान्य तरीका है। दुर्खाइम ने आत्महत्या के अध्ययन के दौरान नियमहीनता की अवधारणा को विकसित किया और मर्यादाहीनता की स्थिति की व्याख्या के लिए इसका इस्तेमाल किया। उनका दावा था कि नियमहीनता व्यक्तियों के व्यवहार को नियंत्रित तथा व्यवस्थित करने में समाज की असफलता का परिणाम है। आगे चलकर, नियमहीनता की अवधारणा को आर. के. मर्टन ने आत्महत्या से आगे बढ़ाया और सभी प्रकार के विचलन की व्याख्या के लिए इसका उपयोग किया। नियमहीनता सांस्कृतिक लक्ष्यों और संस्थागत साधनों की अंतःक्रिया पर निर्भर है। दूसरे शब्दों में, जब सांस्कृतिक लक्ष्यों की प्राप्ति के लिए संस्थागत साधन पर्याप्त नहीं होते तब यह संस्कृति द्वारा निर्धारित लक्ष्यों के प्रति लोगों की वचनबद्धता को कमज़ोर कर देते हैं। यह नियमहीनता की स्थिति को जन्म देता है। इस प्रकार मर्टन बताते हैं कि सामाजिक संरचना कुछ व्यक्तियों पर अनुपालन के विपरीत अपालन में लिप्त होने के लिए दबाव डालती है।

हिंसा

हिंसा के स्वरूप एवं इसके पैमाने के अध्ययन ने आज समाज विज्ञान में एक केंद्रीय स्थान प्राप्त कर लिया है। इतिहासकारों तथा राजनीतिविज्ञानियों ने राजनीतिक और सैनिक हिंसा पर काफ़ी लिखा है। मनोवैज्ञानिकों ने व्यक्ति के मनोविज्ञान की परिधि में इसके मूल स्वरूप पर विचार किया है। हाल में समाजशास्त्रियों ने सामाजिक परिवर्तन के संदर्भ में हिंसक व्यवहार की प्रकृति का विश्लेषण किया है। बहरहाल, इस खंड में हिंसा के तीन पक्षों की ही चर्चा की गई है, यथा – हिंसा का अर्थ, परिवर्तन की रणनीति के रूप में हिंसा तथा समकालीन भारत में हिंसात्मक गतिविधियों का स्वरूप।

हिंसा का अर्थ

हिंसा के अभिप्राय को समझने के लिए पहले इस तथ्य पर विचार करना आवश्यक है कि क्या हिंसक व्यवहार का कारण 'आक्रामकता' मनुष्यों में सहजात है अथवा इसे समाज से प्राप्त किया जाता है। कुछ विद्वानों की राय है कि आक्रामकता पशु व्यवहार में निहित होती है। इस परीक्षण के आधार पर वे कहते हैं कि आक्रामकता और हिंसा मनुष्यों में भी निहित है। परंतु हम इस विचार से सहमत नहीं हैं। मनुष्यों को पशुओं के स्तर पर नहीं रखा जा सकता है। अतः मानवीय हिंसक व्यवहार को पशु व्यवहार की दृष्टि से नहीं समझा जा सकता।

मनुष्य मूलतः हिंसक नहीं होते हैं। वे समाजीकरण के दौरान हिंसक प्रवृत्ति को अर्जित करते हैं। एक बार हिंसक प्रवृत्ति अर्जित कर लेने के बाद आगे चलकर यह सामाजिक एवं पर्यावरणीय कारकों द्वारा तीव्र होती है। यह विचार हमें हिंसक व्यवहार को सही ढंग से समझने के लिए सामाजिक संदर्भ प्रदान करता है।

हिंसा प्रत्यक्ष अथवा अप्रत्यक्ष क्रिया है जिसका प्रयोग व्यक्तियों अथवा संपत्ति को रोकने, हानि पहुंचाने अथवा नष्ट करने के लिए किया जाता है। इस अर्थ में, प्रत्यक्ष शारीरिक आक्रमण के द्वारा लोगों को नुकसान पहुंचाना अथवा घायल करना ही हिंसा नहीं

है, बल्कि व्यक्तियों अथवा संपत्ति को अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से नुकसान पहुंचाना भी हिंसा हो सकती है। धरने के द्वारा श्रमिकों को कारखाने में प्रवेश के लिए रोकना हिंसक नहीं दिखता है क्योंकि कारखाने की संपत्ति को नुकसान पहुंचाने के लिए बल प्रयोग नहीं किया जा रहा है, परंतु इससे कारखाने के उत्पादन को घाटा पहुंच सकता है। यह अप्रत्यक्ष नुकसान कहलाता है।

इस प्रकार हिंसा आक्रामकता से भिन्न है। हठधर्मिता और आक्रामक व्यवहार के संपूर्ण प्रतिबिंब को आक्रामकता कहते हैं जबकि हिंसा आक्रामकता का उग्र रूप है और संवेगात्मक क्रोध अथवा विद्वेष से जुड़ा है। क्रोध के कारण शारीरिक प्रहार तक किया जाता है जब लोग यह महसूस करते हैं कि वे बाहरी कारकों के हस्तक्षेप के कारण अपने लक्ष्यों की प्राप्ति नहीं कर सकते हैं। उदाहरण स्वरूप जब भूमिहीन लोग यह अनुभव करने लगते हैं कि वर्तमान खेतिहर संरचना ही परिवर्तन में बाधक है तब वे व्यवस्था परिवर्तन के लिए हिंसा का सहारा लेते हैं। हम इस बात की ओर ध्यान दिलाना चाह रहे हैं कि हिंसा का कारण समाज व्यवस्था में ही निहित होता है।

लेविस कोजर ने अपनी प्रसिद्ध पुस्तक 'द फंकशंस ऑफ सोशल कॉनफ्लिक्ट' में बताया है कि अपनी उपस्थिति तथा आकृति में हिंसा सामाजिक रूप से संरचित हुआ करती है। वे हिंसा के कुछ सकारात्मक सामाजिक प्रकार्यों पर प्रकाश डालते हैं। जब विभिन्न समूहों की मांगों की पूर्ति में स्थापित सत्ता असफल होती है, जब हिंसा संघर्ष के माध्यम से समाधान प्रस्तुत कर सामाजिक संरचना की मदद करती है। सी. राइट मिल्स का भी कहना है कि राजनीति शक्ति के लिए संघर्ष है और अपने निर्णायक रूप में शक्ति हिंसा है। टैड रॉबर्ट गर ने अपनी बहुचर्चित पुस्तक *वाई मैन रेबेल* में बताया है कि राजनीतिक हिंसा स्वसामंजस्य संघर्ष की स्थिति का एक भाग है जो सामाजिक साम्यता में मदद करता है।

यह स्पष्ट है कि समाजशास्त्री हिंसा शब्द का प्रयोग हिंसक व्यक्तित्व के मनोवैज्ञानिक अर्थ में नहीं करते। इन्होंने इस शब्द के साथ सामाजिक अभिप्राय को जोड़ दिया है। इस समस्या का पक्ष और भी सुस्पष्ट होगा जब हम हिंसा के विभिन्न प्रकारों की चर्चा करेंगे।

हिंसा के प्रकार

व्यक्तिगत हिंसा और संरचनात्मक हिंसा के बीच एक वृहत विभेद किया जाता है। व्यक्तिगत विद्वेष, संपत्ति के झगड़े आदि कारणों से हत्या, प्रहार और दुर्व्यवहार व्यक्तिगत हिंसा के उदाहरण हैं। दूसरी ओर, संरचनात्मक हिंसा की जड़ें शोषक तथा असमानतावादी सामाजिक व्यवस्था में निहित होती है। भारत में जाति व्यवस्था और संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिका में विद्यमान प्रजातीय संबंध शोषक समाज व्यवस्था के उपयुक्त उदाहरण हैं।

राजनीतिक हिंसा मुख्य रूप से तीन प्रकार की होती है – खलबली (टरमोइल), षड्यंत्र और आंतरिक युद्ध। तुलनात्मक रूप से खलबली स्वतः स्फूर्त और असंगठित राजनीतिक हिंसा है। इसके अंतर्गत हिंसक राजनीतिक हड़ताल, दंगा, राजनीतिक झड़प, शोरगुल आदि आते हैं। षड्यंत्र एक अत्यंत संगठित राजनीतिक हिंसा है जिसमें सीमित लोग ही सम्मिलित होते हैं। राजनीतिक हत्या, छोटे स्तर का आतंकवाद, छापामार युद्ध और सत्ता पलट इसके कुछ उदाहरण हैं। आंतरिक युद्ध एक अत्यंत संगठित राजनीतिक हिंसा है जिसमें जनता व्यापक रूप से भागीदार हुआ करती है। यह स्थापित शासन प्रणाली को उखाड़ फेंकने का प्रयास भी कर सकती है। बड़े पैमाने पर हिंसा, गृहयुद्ध और आतंकवाद आंतरिक युद्ध के कुछ अन्य आयाम हैं।

हाल ही में, दो प्रकार की हिंसा की बड़े पैमाने पर चर्चा हुई है, यथा – सांप्रदायिक हिंसा और आतंकवाद। सांप्रदायिक हिंसा किसी समुदाय विशेष के विभिन्न धार्मिक, जातीय, भाषाई इत्यादि समूहों के बीच हो सकती है। किंतु अधिकतर सांप्रदायिक हिंसा को विभिन्न धार्मिक समूहों के बीच संघर्ष के रूप में देखा जाता है। उदाहरण के लिए, अपने ही देश में हिंदुओं और मुसलमानों के बीच के दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण संघर्ष को सांप्रदायिक दंगा कहा जाता है। इस प्रकार के दंगे न केवल कानून व्यवस्था के लिए समस्या पैदा करते हैं, बल्कि लोगों के बीच संबंधों में तनाव भी उत्पन्न करते हैं। हमारे जैसे बहुधर्मी देश के लिए यह एक गंभीर सामाजिक समस्या है।

आतंकवाद एक विशेष प्रकार की हिंसा है जो तेज़ी से फैल रही है। आपने विमानों के अपहरण, धार्मिक स्थलों पर बमबारी, लोगों को बंधक बनाने जैसी घटनाओं के विषय में अवश्य सुना होगा। अमेरिका में विश्व व्यापार केंद्र पर बमबारी और हमारे देश में संसद भवन पर आक्रमण आतंकवाद के ताज़ातरीन उदाहरण हैं। आतंकवाद एक छद्मवेशी हिंसा है जो अंधी हिंसा पर आधारित होती है। यह हिंसा उस राष्ट्र अथवा समूह की मानसिक स्थिति में बदलाव लाने के लिए की जाती है जिस पर आक्रमण किया जाता है। आतंकवादियों का मुख्य उद्देश्य उन लोगों एवं समूहों के दिमाग में भय उत्पन्न करना होता है जो कि उनके निशाने होते हैं। निर्दोष लोगों पर अंधाधुंध प्रहार कई कारणों से किया जाता है। आतंकवादी इरादों की पूर्ति के लिए किसी देश को कुछ विशेष कार्यों के लिए मजबूर करना इसका एक कारण है। उदाहरण के लिए, वर्ष 1999 में आतंकवादियों के एक गुट ने काठमांडू (नेपाल) से इंडियन एयरलाइंस के एक विमान का अपहरण कर यात्रियों को कई दिनों तक कंधार (अफ़गानिस्तान) में बंधक बनाए रखा। इनकी मांग थी कि भारतीय जेलों में बंद तीन आतंकवादियों को भारत रिहा करे। आतंकवादी हिंसा का दूसरा उद्देश्य लोगों का ध्यान आतंकवादी लक्ष्यों की ओर आकृष्ट करना होता है। संचार के माध्यमों के द्वारा अपने संदेश को फैलाने के लिए आतंकवादी कुछ नाटकीय हिंसक कार्यों को अंजाम देते हैं। इससे आतंकवादियों का प्रचार होता है और जनता के मन में भय फैलाने में मदद मिलती है। विश्व के कई हिस्सों में आतंकवादी क्रियाकलाप काफी संगठित हैं और सरकारों द्वारा इन्हें आर्थिक सहयोग भी मिलता है।

हिंसा की समस्या

सामाजिक परिवर्तन संस्थागत माध्यमों से परिचालित हो सकते हैं। ये संस्थागत कहलाते हैं क्योंकि ये कानूनी, न्यायसंगत तथा समाज द्वारा अनुमोदित हैं। ये मार्ग समाज स्वीकृत हैं क्योंकि इन माध्यमों से प्रेरित परिवर्तन सामाजिक मूल्यों से मेल खाते हैं और अबाध गति से चलते रहते हैं। फिर भी समाजशास्त्रियों ने परिवर्तन की रणनीति में हिंसा और संघर्ष की भूमिका की चर्चा की है।

सामाजिक परिवर्तन और हिंसक रणनीति के आपसी रिश्ते में दो मूल मुद्दे शामिल हैं। पहला, तनाव और हिंसा सामाजिक परिवर्तन का स्वाभाविक परिणाम हो सकता है। दूसरा, परिवर्तन और बदलाव के औज़ार के रूप में संघर्ष और हिंसा का प्रयोग हो सकता है। दुनिया में इन दोनों सवालों पर निरंतर बहस चलती रही है। प्रस्तुत चर्चा केवल परिवर्तन के उन प्रयासों तक ही सीमित रखी गई है जिसमें सामाजिक परिवर्तन के लिए हिंसक साधनों का जानबूझ कर इस्तेमाल होता है।

सदा से मनुष्य की मौलिक समस्या एक ऐसी सामाजिक व्यवस्था की स्थापना करना रहा है जो स्वतंत्रता को सुनिश्चित कर सके। प्रत्येक मानवीय

समूह का इच्छित लक्ष्य भूख, दुख, शोषण और अन्याय से मुक्ति का रहा है। परंतु महत्त्वपूर्ण वैज्ञानिक एवं तकनीकी विकास के बावजूद संस्थागत संरचनाएं इस लक्ष्य को प्राप्त करने में समर्थ नहीं हुई हैं। विश्व की सामाजिक व्यवस्था में संपत्ति, प्रस्थिति तथा शक्ति की असमानता जारी है। इस प्रकार की सामाजिक व्यवस्था शोषण को कायम रखती है, असमानता को बढ़ाती है और भेदभाव को पोषण प्रदान करती है। इन परिस्थितियों में समाज का उपेक्षित वर्ग इन असमानताओं के विरुद्ध स्थापित स्थिति में बदलाव के लिए हिंसक प्रतिवाद कर सकता है।

इस प्रकार की हिंसक प्रतिक्रियाओं के दो रूप होते हैं। कुछ समूहों और वर्गों की प्रतिक्रिया छिट-पुट और अस्थायी होती हैं, जबकि कुछ अविछिन्न हिंसक क्रियाकलापों में लीन रहते हैं। पहले समूह की हिंसक प्रतिक्रिया की प्रकृति अस्थायी होती है क्योंकि उनके लिए हिंसा और संघर्ष किसी विचारधारा पर आधारित नहीं होता है। यह वर्तमान शोषक व्यवस्था के खिलाफ क्रोध की अभिव्यक्ति मात्र होती है। सामान्यत: ऐसे समूह हिंसक संघर्ष को अहिंसक कार्यों के साथ मिला कर चलते हैं। उदाहरण के लिए, कारखानों के श्रमिकों का संघर्ष यदाकदा हिंसक हो सकता है, किंतु ऐसी हिंसा अधिक समय तक नहीं चलती है।

दूसरी ओर, कुछ समूह क्रांतिकारी विचारधारा के प्रभाव में रहते हैं। ऐसे समूह वर्ग संघर्ष की रणनीति में विश्वास करते हैं और सामाजिक परिवर्तन के लिए हिंसा को एक माध्यम के रूप में स्वीकार करते हैं। इस दृष्टि से मार्क्सवादियों का उदाहरण अत्यंत उपयुक्त है। मार्क्सवादी विचार संघर्ष को क्रांति का हथियार मानता है और संघर्ष के मार्ग को इतिहास के प्रेरक बल के रूप में प्रतिबिंबित करता है। फलत:, इस विचारधारा से प्रभावित अधिकांश संघर्ष हिंसक रूप ग्रहण कर लेते हैं। वस्तुतः समकालीन मार्क्सवादी क्रांतिकारी बगावत और विद्रोह के लिए छापामार युद्ध की भूमिका पर ज़ोर देते हैं।

हम यह बताने का प्रयास कर रहे हैं कि हिंसा भी परिवर्तन की एक रणनीति है। स्वत: प्रवर्तित हिंसा एक सामान्य माध्यम है जिसके द्वारा वंचित समूह अपनी शिकायतों की तरफ ध्यान आकृष्ट करवाते हैं। वे परिवर्तन को बढ़ावा देने के लिए स्वीकृत साधनों के बाहर चले जाते हैं। अत: हिंसक रणनीति वर्तमान राजनीतिक व्यवस्था पर चोट और स्थापित विधियों को नज़रअंदाज करती है। इसलिए इसे गैर-कानूनी अथवा असंवैधानिक साधन कहा जाता है। भारत में नक्सलवादी आंदोलन इसका उपयुक्त उदाहरण है। सभी हिंसक क्रियाओं का उद्देश्य इच्छित लक्ष्य की प्राप्ति नहीं होता। कई लोग लूटपाट के द्वारा रुपया-पैसा, माल-असबाब एकत्र करने के लिए भी इन कार्यों में जुटे रहते हैं। वे इन अवसरों का इस्तेमाल उन दुकानदारों और व्यापारियों के खिलाफ अपने क्रोध को व्यक्त करने के लिए करते हैं जिन्होंने पहले इनकी मदद न की हो।

सामान्यत:. हिंसक रणनीतियों को सामाजिक परिवर्तन का उचित साधन नहीं माना जाता है। हिंसा का प्रयोग समाज की शांति भंग करता है और वास्तव में योजनाबद्ध सामाजिक परिवर्तन की प्रक्रिया में बाधा डालता है। साथ ही, हिंसा सच्चे प्रजातांत्रिक और मानवतावादी समाज के अविर्भाव को सीमित करती है। यह व्यक्तित्व पर गलत प्रभाव डालती है। अत: सतत अहिंसक संघर्ष ही एक समाज में परिवर्तन की सही रणनीति है।

भारत में अपराध

अब तक यह स्पष्ट हो जाना चाहिए कि अपराध एक गंभीर सामाजिक समस्या है और यह व्याधिकीय

सामाजिक अवस्था में प्रकट होता है। अपराध सभी समाजों में होते हैं, परंतु इनके स्वरूप और मात्रा में भिन्नता हो सकती है। इस अर्थ में हमारा अपना देश भी अपवाद नहीं है। यद्यपि भारत में अपराध के सरकारी आंकड़ों की कुछ स्पष्ट सीमाएं हैं, फिर भी हम इन तथ्यों द्वारा इससे संबंधित प्रवृत्तियों की पहचान कर सकते हैं।

अपराध के आंकड़े बताते हैं कि भारत में सभी अपराधों की कुल संख्या में प्रत्येक वर्ष भारतीय दंड संहिता के अंतर्गत औसतन 16 लाख से अधिक संज्ञेय अपराध हैं। चोरी, सेंधमारी, डकैती, हत्या, अपहरण, ठगी आदि इसके अंतर्गत शामिल हैं। इसके विपरीत, स्थानीय और विशिष्ट कानूनों में आने वाले अपराधों की संख्या करीब 35 लाख है। इसके अंतर्गत जुआ, दहेज, नशाबंदी, नशीली दवाओं का दुरुपयोग, वेश्यावृत्ति आदि से संबंधित अपराध आते हैं। यहां एक रोचक तथ्य की चर्चा करना उपयुक्त होगा कि कई विकसित देशों की तुलना में भारत में अपराध की दर अधिक नहीं है। हमारे देश में प्रत्येक एक लाख की जनसंख्या में अपराध दर केवल 614.79 है जबकि कनाडा में यह 10,955, ब्रिटेन में 10,404 और संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिका में यह 5,898 है।

संज्ञेय अपराधों की स्थिति बताती है कि कुल अपराधों में 14.4 प्रतिशत हत्या, बलात्कार, अपहरण इत्यादि जैसे हिंसक अपराध हैं, 26 प्रतिशत संपत्ति से संबंधित, 3.1 प्रतिशत ठगी, विश्वासघात जैसे सफेदपोश अपराध और शेष 56.5 प्रतिशत अन्य अपराध शामिल हैं। सन 1994 के 'भारत में अपराध' के आंकड़ों के अनुसार, 18 से 30 वर्ष के आयु वर्गों में अपराध दर सबसे अधिक (51 प्रतिशत) है, 16 वर्ष से कम आयु वर्ग में यह 1 प्रतिशत (0.2 प्रतिशत) से कम, 16-18 आयु वर्ग में 1 प्रतिशत (1.2 प्रतिशत), 30-50 आयु वर्ग में 41 प्रतिशत तथा 50 से अधिक आयु वर्ग में 7 प्रतिशत हैं।

भारत में अपराध की स्थिति को स्पष्ट करने के लिए हमने यहां उपयुक्त तथ्यों का वर्णन किया है। इन तथ्यों को प्रस्तुत करने का हमारा उद्देश्य यह इंगित करना है कि हमारे देश में किस प्रकार प्रतिदिन सामाजिक मानदंडों के अनुपालन की मनोवृत्ति का दिनों-दिन ह्रास हो रहा है। भारत में विभिन्न प्रकार के अपराधों के विश्लेषण से समस्या के इस आयाम को और भी स्पष्ट किया गया है।

बाल अपराध

समाजशास्त्रीय विश्लेषण में अपराधी को उस समूह का सदस्य माना जाता है जिनका समूह के मानदंडों से विचलन हो गया हो। इस संदर्भ में, बच्चों द्वारा किए गए अपराधों को वयस्कों से भिन्न माना जाता है। बच्चों के दुराचार के सवाल में दो पहलुओं – उम्र तथा आचरण पर अधिक ध्यान दिया जाता है। परिपक्वता की दृष्टि से उम्र महत्त्वपूर्ण आधार होती है। एक खास उम्र से कम के बच्चों को अपरिपक्व और फलत: गैर-जिम्मेदार माना जाता है। दूसरी ओर, आचरण को अपराध के एक महत्त्वपूर्ण पक्ष के रूप में लिया जाता है, क्योंकि यदि ठीक ढंग से इसे रोका नहीं गया तो छोटे दोषी, वयस्क अपराधी बन सकते हैं।

सामान्यत: एक बाल अपराधी को उम्र की दृष्टि से नाबालिग अपराधी माना जाता है। वह बालक और बालिका जिसकी उम्र 7 तथा 16 या 18 वर्षों के बीच है इस श्रेणी में रखे जाते हैं। भारत में बाल अपराधियों की अधिकतम आयु बालकों के लिए 16 वर्ष और बालिकाओं के लिए 18 वर्ष है। ऐसा अनुमान लगाया गया है कि कुल बाल अपराधों में केवल 2 प्रतिशत घटनाएं ही पुलिस तथा न्यायालयों तक पहुंच पाती हैं। नेशनल क्राइम रेकार्ड्स ब्यूरो के आंकड़े बताते हैं कि पिछले दशक तक भारत में

करीब 50 हज़ार अपराध भारतीय दंड संहिता के अंतर्गत और करीब 85 हज़ार स्थानीय तथा विशिष्ट कानूनों के अंतर्गत हुए थे। बच्चों द्वारा किए गए अपराधों में सबसे अधिक अपराध धन से संबंधित रहे हैं, जैसे – चोरी, सेंधमारी, डकैती आदि। उसी तरह, बालकों में बालिकाओं की अपेक्षा अपराध दर अधिक हैं, अर्थात बालिकाएं, बालकों की तुलना में कम अपराध करती हैं।

बाल अपराधों की संख्या में वृद्धि के कई कारण हैं। मोटे तौर पर इन्हें दो भागों में बांटा जा सकता है – व्यक्तिगत कारण और परिस्थितिजन्य कारण। विद्वेष, असुरक्षा का भाव, भय, संवेगात्मक द्वंद्व, अवज्ञा आदि व्यक्तिगत कारणों में शामिल हैं। परिस्थितिजन्य कारणों में पारिवारिक वातावरण, खेल के साथियों का प्रभाव, विद्यालयीय वातावरण, फिल्मों का प्रभाव इत्यादि प्रमुख हैं। वैसे व्यक्तिगत कारण निस्संदेह महत्त्वपूर्ण हैं, किंतु युवाओं को अपराधी प्रवृत्ति की ओर ले जाने में बदलते सामाजिक परिवेश का भी बड़ा हाथ है। इस तथ्य को विस्तार से प्रस्तुत करने की आवश्यकता नहीं है कि किस तरह अधिकांश फिल्मों और कहानी की पुस्तकों में धूम्रपान, मद्यपान, हिंसा और क्रूरता जैसे हानिकारक और अनैतिक कार्यों का चित्रण बच्चों के सुकुमार मस्तिष्क पर गहरा प्रभाव छोड़ता है। वे फिल्मों द्वारा हिंसा और अपराध के नए-नए तरीके सीखते हैं। युवकों द्वारा इन स्रोतों से सीखे गए तरीकों को अपराध में इस्तेमाल करने की खबरों से हमारे इस विचार की पुष्टि होती है।

सफेदपोश अपराध या व्यावसायिक अपराध

अपराधशास्त्री ई. एच. सदरलैंड ने सर्वप्रथम सफेदपोश अपराध की पहचान की और इसकी प्रकृति की जानकारी दी। सदरलैंड के अनुसार, "व्यावसायिक कार्यों के दौरान उच्च सामाजिक-आर्थिक वर्ग के व्यक्ति द्वारा फौजदारी कानून का उल्लंघन सफेदपोश अपराध है।" वे आगे बताते हैं कि यहां उच्च सामाजिक-आर्थिक वर्ग सिर्फ संपत्ति के अर्थ में परिभाषित नहीं है बल्कि इसके अंदर समाज में इनकी प्रतिष्ठा और सम्मान भी शामिल है। परंतु आज सफेदपोश शब्द लोकप्रिय नहीं है और इसके स्थान पर साहित्य में 'व्यावसायिक अपराध' शब्द का अधिक प्रयोग होने लगा है। इस तरह व्यापारियों, व्यावसायियों तथा सरकारी कर्मियों द्वारा अपने कार्यों के दौरान कानून के उल्लंघन को सफेदपोश अथवा व्यावसायिक अपराध कहा जाता है। सफेदपोश अपराध के क्षेत्र को विस्तृत कर अब इसके अंतर्गत विज्ञापन के अयथार्थ विवरण, श्रमिक कानूनों का उल्लंघन, वित्तीय चालबाज़ी तथा कॉपीराइट कानूनों के उल्लंघन जैसे अपराधों को भी शामिल कर दिया गया है।

आज भारत में कई प्रकार के सफेदपोश अपराध हो रहे हैं। यह अपराध न केवल उच्च पदस्थिति वाले समूहों द्वारा किए जाते हैं बल्कि मध्य एवं निम्न वर्ग के लोग भी इसमें लिप्त हैं। अधिकांश अपराधों में आर्थिक तत्त्व विद्यमान होते हैं और वित्तीय लेन-देन का समावेश रहता है। अत: कई बार इसे 'आर्थिक अपराध' भी कहा जाता है।

भारत में सामान्य आर्थिक अपराधों में आय छिपाना, कर नहीं देना, गलत बिक्री अथवा आयकर रिटर्न के द्वारा आर्थिक लाभ लेना आदि शामिल हैं। हवाला लेन-देन, सार्वजनिक कोष का गबन, खाद्य सामग्री और दवाइयों में मिलावट, बैंक और बीमा धोखेबाज़ी, विदेशी मुद्रा कानून का उल्लंघन, जमाखोरी और कालाबाज़ारी सफेदपोश अपराध के कुछ अन्य उदाहरण हैं।

यहां यह महत्त्वपूर्ण बात है कि भारत में पिछले कुछ दशकों में सफेदपोश अपराधों के स्वरूप और संख्या में काफी बदलाव आया है। निश्चित रूप से

यह देश में आर्थिक क्रियाकलापों के प्रसार और परिवर्तन का परिणाम है। सामाजिक हितों की तुलना में लोग व्यक्तिगत लाभ और मुनाफे से अधिक प्रेरित हैं। समस्या का स्वरूप और भी जटिल हो जाता है जब हम देखते हैं कि सामान्य अपराधी पुलिस जैसी दबाव डालने वाली एजेंसियों से डरते हैं जबकि सफेदपोश अपराधी ऐसा अनुभव नहीं करते। फलस्वरूप, आर्थिक अपराधों में वृद्धि के बावजूद दंडित होने वाले लोगों की संख्या आज भी बढ़ी नहीं है।

संगठित अपराध

अब तक हमने व्यक्यिों द्वारा किए गए अपराधों की ही चर्चा की है, किंतु वैसे अपराध भी हैं जो सामूहिक प्रयासों पर निर्भर होते हैं। ऐसा अपराध जिसके निष्पादन में व्यक्तियों का समूह लगा हो, संगठित अपराध कहलाता है। यह एक प्रकार का सामूहिक कार्य है जिसे अत्यंत संगठित रूप से किया जाता है। अपराधशास्त्रियों ने तीन प्रकार के संगठित अपराधों की व्याख्या की है। वे हैं गिरोह अपराध, धोखाधड़ी, संघ अपराध। गिरोह अपराध के अंतर्गत धन ऐंठना, डकैती और अपहरण सम्मिलित हैं। ऐसे अपराध निष्ठुर और कठोर अपराधी गिरोह द्वारा किए जाते हैं। लोगों से ठग कर पैसे लेना, मिलावटी सामग्रियों को बेचना, नकली दवाओं का व्यापार आदि धोखाधड़ी के उदाहरण हैं। धोखाधड़ी करने वाले अपराधी गैर-कानूनी व्यवसायों को सुरक्षा प्रदान करने का काम भी करते हैं। बड़े शहरों में यह आम बात है। संघ अपराध संगठित अपराधी गिरोह द्वारा किया जाता है जिसे अक्सर माफिया कहा जाता है। मुंबई, कोलकाता, दिल्ली जैसे महानगरों में काफी प्रभावशाली माफिया गिरोह सक्रिय हैं।

भारत में संगठित अपराध का मूल्यांकन कठिन नहीं है। इन अपराधों की संख्या काफी बढ़ी है और काफी बड़े क्षेत्रों में फैली हुई है। सट्टेबाज़ी, नशीली दवाओं का अवैध व्यापार, मोटर वाहनों की चोरी, गैर-कानूनी हथियारों को आतंकवादियों तक पहुंचाना – कुछ सामान्य उदाहरण हैं।

शब्दावली

नियमहीनता (एनोमी): यह शब्द एमिल दुर्खाइम द्वारा प्रयुक्त किया गया है। इसका अर्थ है नियमहीनता की स्थिति।

बाल अपराध : ऐसा अपराध जो 16 वर्ष से छोटे लड़के और 18 वर्ष से छोटी लड़की द्वारा किया जाता है।

संरचनात्मक हिंसा : वह हिंसा जो कि सामाजिक संरचना की शांति और अस्तित्व को भंग करती है।

व्यक्तिगत हिंसा : किसी व्यक्ति के विरुद्ध की गई हिंसा।

अभ्यास प्रश्न

1. अपराध से आप क्या समझते हैं ?
2. अपराध की चार मुख्य व्याख्याएं क्या हैं ?

3. दुर्खाइम ने वैयक्तिक विचलन , विश्लेषण किस प्रकार । ~
4. हिंसा एवं आक्रामकता में अंतर स्थापित कीजिए।
5. हिंसा के विभिन्न प्रकारों की व्याख्या कीजिए।
6. हिंसा किस प्रकार सामाजिक परिवर्तन लाती है?

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of the most essential things involved in the work done by large numbers of our people—work out of which arise many social, economic, and political problems. The product sought is more completely developed individuals, better citizens, and more intelligent consumers, not skilled mechanics. This general educational purpose is well expressed by Bonser and Mossman:

The materials, processes, conditions of production, and the purchase and use of the products of the more important industries may be studied for the values which such study affords in one's everyday life, regardless of his occupation. Such a study of industrial arts, we describe as "general." To realize its purposes, we make no attempt to develop any considerable degree of skill in any of the several industries studied. Productive skill is not included in its purposes as it is in vocational education. The field includes numerous industries, not limiting itself to one industry as in vocational education.

The purposes or outcomes of the general study are realized in the degree in which it helps one to become efficient in the selection, care, and use of the products of industry, and to become intelligent and humane in the regulation or control of industrial production. This study is from the point of view of the problems, opportunities, and obligations of the consumer and the citizen.[1]

Principles governing selection of industrial material for the elementary grades. When one attempts to select the industries that should be given attention in the elementary school, he finds himself confronted with an embarrassment of rich material. His problem is not to find enough but to select the best from the wealth before him. His guiding principle in selection must be relationship to the objectives of elementary education. Bonser and Mossman have expressed this well.

That field of industry comes first which has the largest relationship to the common needs of life. Those industries having least relationship to the common needs of life would be omitted, judged constantly, as they must be, from the point of view of the consumer and citizen. By this standard, industries devoted to the production of food, clothing, and shelter would stand at the top of the list, those concerned with the making of walking sticks or artificial limbs would be omitted.[2]

[1] FREDERICK G. BONSER and LOIS C. MOSSMAN, *Industrial Arts for Elementary Schools*, p. 6, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

It should be noted, also, that not all parts of any industry are of equal value for educational purposes. Selection within the industry becomes necessary. To quote Bonser and Mossman again:

Within any industry, selected because of its importance to life, those parts would be chosen which furnish the greatest help in meeting our common needs. Not all phases of even a single industry may yield values in terms of our purposes sufficient to make it worth while to include them. For example, a study of the materials employed in the clothing industries provides much help in problems of selecting clothing, but developing skill in any of these processes yields little that is measurable by our standards of value.[1]

It follows from what has been said concerning the relationship of the material that is chosen to the common needs of life, that the best basis both for selection and organization of this material is the uses of products of the industries.

The large uses of material products center very conveniently for classification about the needs of man for six kinds of service which are respectively: food, clothing, shelter, utensils, records for transmitting experiences, and tools and machines. The subject matter making up such an organization is found largely in answer to two questions: (1) What are the changes made in materials which increase their values to make them most useful and satisfying in meeting these six respective forms of need? (2) What are the problems relating to these changes which concern us as consumers and citizens?[2]

What provision for such study of the industries? The question naturally arises: Does not such a study of the industries require departmental teaching in the elementary school? Is it not necessary to have a teacher for the industrial arts work who is so well trained in the manipulative and art sides of her subject that she cannot adequately be prepared to teach other subjects of the elementary school also? It is, of course, important that the teacher should be well trained in the manipulative and art sides of industrial arts. It is equally important that she should understand the economic and social aspects of this subject. But it does not follow that industrial arts in the elementary school should be taught by a specialist who teaches nothing else. As most elementary schools are now organized, the subject should

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 26–27.

have its time allotment in the curriculum in the same way as do the historic three R's and the other standard subjects of the elementary school, and all may be taught, and generally will be, by the same teacher.

If, however, the platoon system of elementary education is accepted, with departmental teaching of some subjects, then a special teacher of industrial arts may be provided. The important thing is that this subject, which touches all others so intimately, should be a unifying factor in the curriculum and full advantage should be taken of the many opportunities to correlate other subjects with it. This is more likely to be done when one teacher has responsibility for all the work of a class, provided this teacher is properly prepared to teach industrial arts as well as the other subjects. A number of school systems have demonstrated the practicability of this procedure in elementary schools by using projects which combine study of industries with reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and other subjects.

However, details of organization and method need not be considered further. They may safely be left to those whose special field is industrial arts in elementary education. What does concern us here is the place that study of the industries should have and gradually may be expected to attain in organized elementary education and the general character of such study.

Under the names of manual training and household arts, some of the aspects of industrial arts as discussed above have long been accepted as part of elementary education. But the manipulative and process aspects in a very limited number of industries have claimed nearly all the time and attention. Often the work has had little relation to other subjects of the curriculum and less relation to life. In recent years, the tendency has been in the direction of a much broader and more genuinely educative treatment of the subject.

Relation to objectives of elementary education. It is apparent from this discussion that study of the industries in the elementary school not only harmonizes with the objectives of elementary education, but is essential to the realization of these objectives, provided the study is so conducted that it results in desirable changes in behavior

. . . in one's selection, use, and enjoyment of the products of industry; in one's participation in the securing of just and fair treatment for

producers in industry and for consumers of products; and in one's taking an intelligent interest in the processes, products, and workers in industry as changes in these result from the use of new materials and methods.[1]

It has been noted that there is a wealth of material for this kind of study from which selection must be made upon the basis of relation to the needs of life. It has been noted that the tendency today in elementary education is strongly in the direction of this type of study of the industries, in place of the older type which emphasized chiefly manipulation in a very limited range of activities, some of which have little relation to the life of the average individual.

Similar study of other fields of activity desirable. There is no good reason, however, why such study should be limited to that field of human activities, broad as it is, which is known as the industries. Agriculture, mining, transportation, trade, the professions, and the other large groups of occupations also have a close relationship to the lives of all of us, as well as have those activities which bring about changes in raw materials in order to fit them for human use. A similar study of these other fields along with the industries is essential to full realization of the objectives of elementary education.

The growing of cereals such as corn, wheat, and oats; of fruits, of vegetables, of fiber crops such as cotton and flax, and of livestock; the extraction of minerals such as iron, coal, copper, oil; lumbering; the transportation of these raw materials of farm and mine and forest; the manufacture of these materials into finished products for human use; the distribution and sale of these products as they come from the factories; and the many kinds of professional, public, and personal service—all these are involved. The extent to which they are involved is determined only by the time that can be devoted to this kind of study and the way the subject matter is organized and presented.

Taken together, these constitute the world's work at which humanity spends more than one-third of its waking hours, by means of which it subsists, and through which are provided the products and services humanity uses and enjoys.[2]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

[2] Said former Dean James E. Russell of Teachers College, Columbia University, some years ago: "I wonder why it is that we teach with such

Surely nothing is more closely related to the needs of life than this material. And, if treated in its broader aspects, nothing is richer in value as material of general education. Here in the world's work, history, geography, community civics, and elementary sciences find their applications and, to a large extent, their motivation. Here also arise the problems of arithmetic and the need for reading and writing. It would be quite possible to make the world's work the integrating factor of elementary education.

Significance of such study for vocational guidance. When elementary education gives to boys and girls such an acquaintance with the world's work as is needed for purposes of general education, it will make all the contribution to vocational guidance that may be expected of it. While the objective throughout is general education, a background of information concerning occupations will be built up which will be of distinct value later when a decision concerning the vocation to be pursued must be made, or when a more comprehensive study of occupations is undertaken for vocational guidance purposes. The information will not be detailed or complete concerning any occupation. It will not deal with requirements for success or opportunities for advancement. It will place different occupations in the scheme of the world's work for the child. It will give him some idea of the nature of the work done in different occupations and of the history, the social status, and the contribution to society of many of the more important occupations. It will build up a subconscious foundation which will determine to greater or less extent the child's later thinking and planning concerning his life work

Occupational information for guidance purposes not desirable in elementary grades. In his earlier writings Brewer expressed the view that definite provision should be made in the elementary grades for supplying occupational information to children for vocational guidance purposes.[1] To be sure, he was thinking in

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complacency the life history of the honeybee and the hummingbird, the brook trout and the woodchuck, and fail to include in our study the life history of the coal miner and the fisherman, the cotton planter and the dairyman, the textile worker and the engineer." "Our Need of an Intelligent Electorate," *School and Society*, XVI (Oct. 7, 1922), 407.

[1] JOHN M. BREWER, *The Vocational Guidance Movement*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918.

terms of an educational and social situation quite different from that of today. Twenty years ago pupils left school earlier to enter employment. Also there was somewhat less disposition then than now to make provision for study of the world's work for purposes of general education in the elementary school.

That Brewer's views have changed with the passing years is shown by the fact that his only reference to this subject in his more recent book is, "Vocational guidance may be faint in the picture for the elementary school, but it should be clear for later education."[1] The writer would go further and say that study of occupations in the elementary grades for vocational guidance purposes is neither essential nor desirable. Choice of occupation is a differentiating factor in the lives of children. The elementary school is concerned with those elements of study and experience that are of common value to all, regardless of sex or future occupation. Let the differentiating factors be reserved for a later period of education.

It may be argued that some children leave school at the end of the sixth grade and will have no help in choosing an occupation unless it is provided in the elementary school. Where compulsory education laws are enforced, the number of normal children who leave school without completing the sixth grade is extremely small. Subnormal children constitute a special problem and should be handled in special classes, as they are in most city school systems. What vocational guidance they need, and they need some even though most of them will engage in unskilled work all their lives, can and should be provided in their special classes. In systems too small to maintain special classes for subnormals, the problem should be handled individually without modifying the elementary school work as a whole in order to meet the needs of a few.

Records of pupils in elementary schools valuable for guidance purposes. Another fact that should not be overlooked in considering the contribution of elementary education to vocational guidance is that an adequate record of the pupil's responses to his experiences in the elementary school will provide information concerning his achievements, aptitudes, limitations, and personality traits that should be of value in counseling him later

[1] John M. Brewer, *Education as Guidance*, p. 182, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932.

regarding his vocational plans. Information from this source will, of course, be considered by the counselor in relation to information of similar type derived from the pupil's secondary school record. Especially important will be the consistency or lack of it between the pupil's elementary and secondary school records. Effective counseling, as will appear more clearly later, depends so much upon adequate significant data concerning the one counseled that the counselor cannot afford to neglect the rich contribution of the elementary school in this respect.

Summary

Education in the elementary grades, aimed chiefly at development of the individual along lines of good citizenship and good consumership, is concerned with the common needs of all regardless of their future occupations. All are traveling toward a common goal though at different rates of speed and with different degrees of success. Vocational guidance, on the other hand, is concerned with helping individuals toward different goals. However, the question arises: may not some of the provisions made for helping all to obtain general education in the elementary schools also have significance for vocational guidance?

For the purpose of helping children to understand and appreciate the ever-expanding industrial aspects of their environment, an industrial element has been added in elementary schools to the older humanistic and scientific elements. Material included in this industrial element is, of course, selected on the basis of its relationship to the common needs of all. The aim is not to make better artisans or to help in choosing an occupation but to make better individuals, citizens, and consumers. Similar material related to other occupational fields—agriculture, mining, transportation, trade, the professions, and the rest—must be used also if the objectives of elementary education are to be realized.

However, the information and experiences acquired by children in the elementary schools as a result of this study of the world's work will serve as a valuable background when those same children later face the necessity of choosing an occupational field for themselves. Thus, while study of occupations for vocational guidance purposes has no place in elementary schools, such study for purposes of general education may make an important contribution to vocational guidance.

Elementary schools make a valuable contribution to vocational guidance also by means of carefully planned, well-kept cumulative records which follow the children as they advance through the secondary schools and are available for the use of counselors.

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CHAPTER VII

THE SERVICES INVOLVED IN A PROGRAM OF VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Since we have noted the need for vocational guidance, have stressed the responsibility of the school system for providing it, and have pointed out that elementary schools contribute only indirectly in this respect, it is appropriate to ask what secondary schools should do in providing a comprehensive program of vocational guidance.

After 30 years of thought and experience, authorities on the subject have come rather generally to divide such a program into eight parts, each part concerned with a distinct type of service. The program may, therefore, be thought of as consisting of a group of eight services. An effort will now be made to give a general picture of a comprehensive program of vocational guidance in secondary schools by presenting the eight services which such a program may be expected to perform. A detailed discussion of the different services will occupy later chapters, little more than a definition of each being given here.

A vocational information service. This service is concerned with aiding the individual to obtain needed information concerning occupations. It can, of course, be taken for granted that if one is to choose wisely among the occupations which are open to him he must know about the opportunities and requirements of various occupations, and especially of those that interest him most. Adequate information of this character does not come to one in the ordinary course of schoolwork as it has been carried on in the past nor from his home nor from other out-of-school experiences. Definite provision of some sort for each individual to obtain such information is part of the secondary school's responsibility.

A self-inventory service. This service is concerned with aiding the individual to obtain equally needed information pertaining to his own abilities, aptitudes, limitations, and per-

sonality traits—his personal assets and liabilities. If the individual is to choose wisely he must know not only the opportunities and requirements of particular occupations, but also what he has to bring to any occupation that he may choose. The Socratic dictum "Know thyself" is fundamental to a wise choice of occupation.

A personal data collecting service. The purpose of this service is to provide the basis for the counseling service that follows. It is not only desirable but necessary that one who is to counsel another wisely concerning the choice of a vocation should know the characteristics of the one who is counseled. This requires the bringing together of many kinds of personal data concerning the individual in convenient form for use by the counselor. As will be seen later, much more complete data than are usually found in a school-record system are necessary.

A counseling service. This service is concerned with helping the individual to weigh and evaluate his personal assets and liabilities in relation to the opportunities and requirements of occupations that interest him, and to make plans that are based on resulting decisions. It involves knowledge on the part of the counselor both of the individual's assets and liabilities and of possible courses of action open to him. It consists of an interview or series of interviews between the counselor and the one counseled in which sincere and frank efforts are made to face the facts that should determine decisions and plans.

A vocational preparatory service. This service is based on the assumption that a choice of occupation has been reached, at least tentatively. The problem now confronting the individual is that of making such preparation as is desirable, either before or after actually entering full time upon the occupation chosen. Assistance is needed in determining what preparation shall be obtained and where and in what manner it shall be obtained. Here arises, also, the necessity for society to consider the question of what provision it should make for the vocational preparation of those who enter occupational life. Success in occupational life depends upon how this service, as well as the others in the list, is performed.

A placement or employment service. It is the function of this service to aid the individual who has chosen his vocation and made such preparation as seems practicable to get off to a good

start by entering that vocation advantageously. Assistance is needed in finding a suitable place to start work at a wisely chosen occupation just as truly as in making the choice. Without this assistance the whole program of vocational guidance, dealing, as has been stressed, with transfer from school to occupation, is left up in the air, unfinished.

A follow-up or adjustment service. This service is concerned with aiding the individual to make necessary or desirable readjustments after entering upon his vocation. Even with the best of help he may have chosen his vocation unwisely or begun work under unfavorable conditions. He may find it necessary to work for a time at an unsuitable occupation or he may be wholly unemployed for a number of months. Assistance may be needed in making a new choice either of vocation or of place to work at it, or in making the best use of a period of temporary unsuitable employment or complete unemployment. He may need help in seeing the opportunities that lie ahead, or in planning the further preparation needed, or in adapting his personality to the new environment of working life. Whatever assistance in such matters may be needed belongs to this service.

A research service. Still another service which is essential to the success of a comprehensive program of vocational guidance is that of research. This includes particularly occupational research—the gathering and keeping up to date of information concerning opportunities and requirements of local occupations. It includes, also, evaluating the techniques and methods used in the other services. It is not so much a service to individuals as it is to the program as a whole. It is concerned with checking up on the effectiveness of the other services and with discovering their strong and weak points with a view to strengthening the program.

All these services essential to an adequate program. Some school systems have undertaken to provide certain of these services, while ignoring the others. Usually the services for which provision is made are those which relate most closely to the traditional work of the school and which can, therefore, be carried on with the least additional trouble and expense. Thus, some provision for occupational information, occupational exploration, gathering data concerning pupils, and counseling is more common in American high schools than is provision for the

placement, follow-up, and research services. It is quite logical for school systems to develop their programs of vocational guidance by beginning with those services which can be carried on most easily. Many school systems are doing work that is very worth while with a partial program only. However, school authorities should recognize the fact that no program of vocational guidance can be considered adequate which does not include all of the eight services described above.

Effective performance of each service essential also. Nor does a program of this nature deserve to be called adequate unless the provision made for performing each of the various services is itself adequate. A school system may truthfully report that it has made provision for all of the eight services and yet its program may be very ineffective. In fact, surveys that have been made for the purpose of determining the extent to which vocational guidance has found a place in American school systems have proved unsatisfactory on this account. It is important, for example, not only that vocational counseling be done, but also that it be done by competent persons, on the basis of adequate records, and under favorable conditions; also, that all pupils in the secondary schools be given this kind of counseling. A somewhat similar statement could be made concerning each of the other services. Unless the program really functions from the occupational information service to the research service, it cannot be considered adequate.

In the chapters that follow, the various services will be considered at some length and methods and techniques will be discussed which seem likely to contribute to the effective performance of each service.

Summary

A comprehensive program of vocational guidance in secondary schools is concerned with eight different services: (1) a vocational information service; (2) a self-inventory service; (3) a personal data collecting service; (4) a counseling service; (5) a vocational preparatory service; (6) a placement or employment service; (7) a follow-up or adjustment service; and (8) a research service. If the program is to be highly effective it is necessary not only that provision be made for all of these services but also that each be performed in an efficient manner.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE OCCUPATIONAL INFORMATION SERVICE

With the completion of the elementary school period at the end of the sixth grade come new educational problems. No longer does it suffice for the school to deal only with those things which are the common needs of all regardless of sex and future occupation. To be sure, the school must continue to concern itself with these common needs, but it must take account also of the fact that the paths to be followed by its pupils now begin to diverge toward different goals.

From this point onward individual differences must be considered not only with reference to the content and methods of teaching used for the purpose of helping all to progress as far as possible along a common highway, but also with reference to helping each to select goals suited to himself as an individual and to make progress toward these goals. In no aspect of life do these individual differences stand out more strikingly or have greater significance than in the matter of vocational interests and possibilities. As the child passes from the elementary school to the junior high school, the time has come for the beginnings of more or less definite assistance in making vocational plans.

Occupational information a first step. When direct efforts are made to provide an individual with adequate assistance in making vocational plans, it becomes apparent that the task includes, first of all, acquainting him with information concerning occupations. There may be difference of opinion as to the character of the information needed at different school levels and as to methods of providing it—whether by means of a special course, as part of community civics, by means of theme work in English, as part of the work expected to be done in every subject, or in some other way—but practically all who have given the matter even passing attention agree that occupational information is fundamental in a program of vocational guidance.

Only those who accept, or lean strongly toward, the view that vocational guidance consists in studying the individual and then

telling him what he should do, rather than in helping him to arrive at a decision of his own, place little emphasis on providing for pupil study of occupational information as part of such a program. Some of this group mistakenly seem to assume that those who stress occupational information consider it the whole of vocational guidance and take it for granted that the counselor rather than the one who is counseled needs to know the requirements and opportunities of various occupations in order that he may tell the individual who is counseled whether or not he is suited to this or that occupation.

Certainly if vocational guidance is a matter of aiding an individual by all available means to make his own decisions with reference to his vocation, as the accepted definition of the term implies, rather than that of having a specialist do this for him, the individual himself must know what is required and what to expect in the different courses of action that lie open to him.

Kind of information needed. It is apparent that the kind of information one needs concerning occupations in order that he may make a wise vocational choice depends upon how far he has progressed toward this choice. If he is just beginning to think about the matter, with several years of more or less general schooling still in prospect, the type of information needed will be quite different from that needed if he is on the point either of leaving school to begin wage earning or of deciding just what vocational preparation he should make before leaving school. In the former case a general view of the whole range of occupations is needed in order to help the individual select a field for further study and for exploration.

For example, before junior high school pupils face the necessity of deciding whether to pursue a commercial, industrial arts, or academic curriculum, they should become familiar with the United States Census groupings of occupations and the general characteristics and requirements of each of these groups. At the same time that this type of occupational study assists the pupil in selecting a curriculum it will contribute richly to his general education. Such study may well seek to narrow the probable range of choice for most pupils to a relatively small number of occupations for detailed study later. On the other hand, before a particular occupation is chosen quite specific information con-

cerning a few occupations that keenly interest the individual should have attention.

Outline for study of an occupation. The various outlines for occupational study that have been prepared must, of necessity, have many things in common. They differ mainly in their complexity and in the order of arrangement of the different items. In general, such an outline should have a small number of main headings and these should be in logical order. With these two criteria in mind the following outline is suggested:

1. *Importance of the occupation.* How does it serve society? How many people does it employ? Is this number increasing or decreasing? Is it widely distributed, or localized? If localized, in what principal centers is it carried on? What, briefly, is its history?

2. *Nature of the work.* What does the worker do? Is the work highly repetitive or quite varied? Does it tend to stimulate growth?

3. *Working conditions.* Is the work indoors or outdoors? Does the worker stand or sit? What are the general sanitary conditions? What kind of fellow workers will one have? What are the working hours? What kind of organization is there among the workers? How important is membership in this organization?

4. *Personal qualities needed.* What physical qualities are necessary—strength, endurance, hearing, eyesight, etc.? What degree of intelligence and of emotional stability? What personality traits—initiative, coöperation, persistence, leadership, etc.—are highly important?

5. *Preparation needed.* What general education and special training are necessary or desirable? How and where may the special training be obtained?

6. *Opportunities for advancement.* How does one enter the occupation? At what age approximately? What are the average periods of service at different levels of the occupation? What supervisory or administrative jobs in the field lie ahead? What are the principal related occupations in which one might seek advancement?

7. *Compensation.* What annual earnings may one expect at first? What are the average earnings of experienced workers? What are exceptional earnings? How are earnings affected as

one advances in age? How is the compensation paid—weekly, monthly, for special service rendered (*e.g.*, doctor, architect), etc.? Are there, also, commissions on sales? Discounts on goods purchased from the employer by the worker? Profit sharing? Bonuses? What annuity or retirement provisions are in effect? Are there other compensations, such as unemployment insurance, sick benefits, long vacations?

8. *Advantages and disadvantages.* This is mainly a summary heading under which the more outstanding features of the occupation as listed under the other headings are brought together. Also, important features that do not fit under other headings may be placed here.

Uses of the outline. This outline should not only serve the needs of individual pupils who are studying with care a few occupations that have interested them most keenly. It may be used to advantage in that more general study of occupations that comes earlier in the pupil's life, of which mention has been made. When a junior high school class is studying the agriculture group of occupations, some one occupation, for example, general farming, may well be selected as typical of the group and this one be studied by the entire class in accordance with the outline. Similarly, when the mining group is under consideration the work of the coal miner might be studied according to the outline as typical; and when the professional group is claiming attention, the work of the doctor, and so on with the other groups.[1] A typical occupation should be selected in each case. Such procedure would not only serve to give the pupils a good picture of the similarities and differences of the large groups of occupations, but it would tend, also, to drill them in the use of an outline which they would use in their later school study of a few occupations that interest them as individuals. This outline should serve many of them well in later life when, because of technological changes in industry or for other reasons, they find it necessary again to choose an occupation.

Worthy of place as a separate subject. It is argued in some school systems that the entire program of the junior high school

[1] A good illustration of this procedure will be found in the high school textbook, *Planning Your Future*, by George E. Myers, Glayds M. Little, and Sarah A. Robinson, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1940.

is already too crowded to permit the teaching of occupational information as a special subject, and that whatever study of occupations is carried on will have to find its place in English, the social studies, or some other established subject. Occupational information is stressed most often in the practical arts and next in the social studies—civics, history, geography, economics—according to reports received from the larger cities a few years ago. The evidence from schools that have tried to provide adequate information concerning occupations through any of the long-recognized school subjects is decidedly against this plan. Occasionally it may be done well, but generally it is done very poorly. In one high school with which the writer is familiar, it was done fairly well for a time through English under the leadership of a principal who was thoroughly interested, and later was done so poorly as to be considered a joke by the pupils. The average teacher of English feels responsibility for teaching English, not occupational information. Besides, few teachers of English know or care enough about occupations to teach the subject well. The same is true of other established school subjects.

Moreover, the subject matter of a good course dealing primarily with occupations is sufficiently valuable educational material to merit a place of its own in the program of studies, with well-qualified teachers in charge. Pupils will respect it more and treat it more seriously if it is an independent subject. If such a situation exists in a school system that it is impossible to introduce occupational information as a special subject, it may be wise to incorporate it in some other subject; but such a situation ought not to exist or, at least, ought not to be permitted to continue.

Tendency to require this subject. Even when assigned a place in the school program as a separate subject, occupational information is not sure of a fair chance, as is shown by the following criticism made by the director of vocational guidance in a large city:

> The occupations course is an elective and for some reason was placed in the commercial curriculum. For that reason it is taught by commercial teachers. In one high school there are 10 classes, all taught by teachers of bookkeeping. The teachers change from semester to semester. The teachers are untrained and unqualified to teach occu-

pations. When handled by civics teachers it is done better, but there is room for improvement. It is unsatisfactory at present because:

1. It is in the commercial curriculum and only commercial students enroll for it.
2. It is an elective.
3. Teachers at present are not qualified to teach it.

Why occupational information is needed by students in the commercial curriculum more than by others, why even in this curriculum it should be elective rather than required, and why teachers of bookkeeping are particularly qualified to teach it would be hard to explain on logical grounds. If the special course in occupations is to accomplish effectively the purpose for which it is intended, it must be taken by all pupils and must be taught by teachers who are at least as well qualified to teach this particular subject as are teachers of English or physics or French to teach their subjects. In recent years there has been a growing tendency for secondary schools, especially junior high schools, to require their pupils to devote some time to occupational information either as a separate course or as an important unit in some other course. Also the present tendency is strongly in the direction of making provision for more effective teaching of this subject.

Detailed study of a large number of occupations undesirable. The kind of occupational study described above makes easily avoidable the monotonous repetition that has so often destroyed or greatly limited the value of a course in this subject. There is no good reason why a boy with artistic aptitudes and interests should spend approximately one-fourth of his school time for a semester or a year studying the detailed requirements and opportunities of fifty or one hundred of the most common occupations in industry and business. Far better is it for him, and for his fellow pupils also, if, after they together have become familiar with the general features of the large groups of occupations and have acquired a plan for occupational study, he looks up with care a few artistic occupations and reports to class on one or two of them and each of his fellow pupils does the same thing along the line of his particular interests. Each pupil thus acquires information needed in arriving at a decision of his own and at the same time sufficient knowledge of other occupations for purposes of general education. Some textbooks in this field, even on the

junior high school level, make the mistake of providing for all pupils to study a large number of occupations with the result that the subject becomes monotonous and unpopular with pupils and teachers alike.

Occupational information through other courses. Essential as is provision in secondary schools for special study of occupational information and however effectively this may be done, teachers of all other subjects in these schools also have a responsibility in this matter. Every subject teacher should be expected to assist his pupils to obtain significant information concerning the occupations which are closely related to, or depend to a large extent upon, his subject.

For example, the teacher of mathematics should help his pupils to obtain a general picture of the opportunities and requirements of engineering, of actuarial work, of mathematics teaching, and of other occupations in which a considerable knowledge of mathematics is essential. At the same time he should help those pupils who show a high degree of mathematical interest and aptitude to obtain more complete and detailed information concerning these occupations, covering the items included in the outline found on pages 111–112. The mathematics teacher should know more than any other member of the school staff, not excepting the teacher of occupational information himself, about these particular occupations and he should be expected to share this knowledge with interested students and to help them find additional information that they may need.

Teachers of English, physics, chemistry, biology, and other subjects should do the same in their respective fields. In the case of the so-called "tryout" or "vocational exploratory" subjects, which will be discussed in the next chapter, special attention should be given to this matter. A teacher of agriculture, or household arts, or commercial subjects, or shop subjects in junior high school who is content to stress technical subject matter, processes, and projects without helping his pupils to acquire additional information of guidance value concerning the occupations which are based upon his subject is missing a rare opportunity for genuine service. This is true even though the pupils may have been over some of the same ground in the occupations course. The information will come with new force and meaning when obtained in connection with actual experiences

selected from the occupation and under the leadership of the one who is directing these experiences. Of course, the teacher who is in charge of the special occupations course should cooperate with the other subject-matter teachers in making this work effective and in avoiding undesirable duplication.

Methods of teaching an occupational information course.[1] Methods of teaching a subject of this character, to be effective, must bring into play pupil initiative and pupil activity as fully as possible. Each pupil should be required to gather material on points covered by the outline, from books and pamphlets in the library, from newspapers and magazines, from workers in the occupations that are studied, from visits to shops and offices where the occupations are carried on, and from other sources. Class debates upon the relative merits of different occupations, dramatizations, of which excellent examples are found in Lincoln's recent book,[2] oral reports to the class, and written reports, the best of which may be published in the school paper, should be encouraged. The teacher, to be sure, must see to it that the information brought together in this manner is accurate and reliable.

Occasionally a successful man or woman representing the occupation under consideration may be brought before the class to present his or her views as to the advantages and disadvantages of the occupation and methods of winning success in it. This works best when only pupils interested in the occupation discussed are present. Some schools feature conferences of this sort between representatives of occupations and groups of pupils interested in the same occupations. The speaker, however, usually needs to be given in advance an outline indicating the points in which the class is interested, and the pupils should have a chance to question the speaker concerning points not covered or not understood. Moreover, the speaker should be selected with great care.

The teacher who gives the course in occupations will find the school library and the public library indispensable allies. The alert teacher will see to it that librarians become interested in obtaining occupational information material, in placing this material where it is easily accessible to pupils, in calling their

[1] For a more complete discussion of methods of teaching occupational information the reader is referred to Mildred E. Lincoln's *Teaching about Vocational Life*, Scranton, Pa.: International Textbook Company, 1937.

[2] *Ibid.*

attention to it by means of bulletin-board announcements, and in other ways. Librarians usually can be depended upon to cooperate most cordially in work of this character.

Visual aids. Visual aids in the form of sound films, silent films, stereoptican slides, stereoscopic views, pictures cut from magazines and newspapers, exhibits showing processes of manufacture, carefully planned trips to industrial plants and other places where the occupation is carried on, are often used effectively. As long ago as 1929 Kefauver and Curtis compiled a long list of motion-picture films of occupational-information type which were then available, mostly free of charge except for transportation.[1] While many of these films, and others of similar kind that have become available more recently, were not prepared according to the best educational principles, nevertheless they have value as aids in teaching this subject. Material of this kind has been improving steadily year by year and becoming more readily available. Some teachers have stimulated their pupils to bring together in the form of career books information concerning particular occupations, including pictures clipped from various sources. Others have encouraged the preparation by pupils of exhibits showing manufacturing processes or of charts and graphs illustrating occupational trends. An alert teacher will find many ways to use visual material to good advantage, at the same time providing for pupil initiative and pupil activity.

Sources of occupational information. In recent years a large amount of printed material has appeared in this field, some of which is listed at the end of this chapter. A number of textbooks for use in junior and senior high schools have been published. Many books suitable for use as references have been prepared which deal with particular groups of occupations, such as those in engineering, advertising, business offices, and printing trades, and the metal trades. Several books are devoted wholly to occupations for women. A dictionary of 3,500 jobs, bearing the title *The Book of Opportunities*,[2] is available. A very valuable publication of the same type and of more recent date is the

[1] GRAYSON N. KEFAUVER and JOHN W. CURTIS, "Visual Aids in Imparting Occupational Information," *The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, VIII (December, 1929), 111–120.

[2] RUTHERFORD PLATT, *The Book of Opportunities*, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1933.

Dictionary of Occupational Titles[1] brought out by the U.S. Employment Service (now the U.S. Bureau of Employment Security). A few years ago the American Library Association brought out a bibliography of occupational literature entitled *Books about Jobs*,[2] in which approximately 8,000 references are included. Many of these references are annotated and all are classified by fields of occupations. *The Occupational Index*,[3] a monthly publication, gives a brief account of new material in the field. *Vocational Trends*, *Vocational Guide*, and other publications of Science Research Associates[4] are valuable means of keeping up with current materials and conditions in the field of occupations. *Vocational Guidance Digest*[5] presents each month abstracts of material of this nature which appears in current periodicals. The monthly magazine, *Occupations*,[6] has included carefully prepared descriptions of numerous occupations.

A large amount of material in pamphlet form is available also, each pamphlet dealing with a particular occupation. Some of these pamphlets have been published by government bureaus, others by organizations of national scope, and still others by state and city boards of education. Radio broadcasting companies have, for some years, been presenting weekly broadcasts of information, often in dramatized form, concerning specific occupations. The scripts of many of these broadcasts have been printed and may be obtained from the company which presented the program. *Your Future*,[7] published weekly during the school year and planned especially to interest high school youth, contains descriptions of occupations along with other guidance material.

Much valuable occupational information material, not available for general distribution, has been prepared by local school

[1] *Dictionary of Occupational Titles*, U.S. Department of Labor, U.S. Employment Service, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1939.

[2] WILLARD E. PARKER, *Books about Jobs*, Chicago: American Library Association, 1936.

[3] *The Occupational Index*, New York: Occupational Index, Inc.

[4] Science Research Associates, Chicago, Ill.

[5] *Vocational Guidance Digest*, Stanford University Press, Stanford University, Calif.

[6] *Occupations: The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, published by the National Vocational Guidance Association, Inc., New York.

[7] *Your Future*, Columbus, Ohio: American Educational Press.

people for use in their own schools. Material thus prepared, if the job is well done, has the merit of meeting local needs better than does material intended for use throughout the country, since occupational conditions differ to some extent in different localities. A valuable source of information of this type is the U.S. Bureau of Employment Security which has undertaken to prepare descriptions of thousands of jobs in industry and business and has already published several volumes of such descriptions covering certain occupational fields.

Those who use occupational information from any source will need to keep in mind the changing character of this kind of information. Some things that are true this year will not be true next year. The importance of the occupation, the nature of the work done in it, working conditions, preparation needed, opportunities for advancement—all may change considerably within a period of five years. Of course the extent of change differs greatly with different occupations. In selecting printed occupational information material for study or reference it is always well to check it for recency of preparation. In fact, the alert teacher will find it desirable to check for himself and to encourage his students to check such material both for its recency and for its application to the local situation.

Measuring outcomes of a course in occupational information. It is, to be sure, just as desirable to know what results from teaching this subject as from teaching any other subject in the secondary school curriculum. In attempting to measure results in this case it must be kept in mind that the work has two principal objectives:

1. To contribute to the general education of the pupil by giving him a better understanding and appreciation of occupations and of workers in them.

2. To aid the pupil in choosing a vocation and in planning preparation for it.

Vocational guidance is concerned with the second of these objectives.

Determining whether one method of teaching occupational information is more effective than another in supplying pupils with facts concerning occupations or whether those who have pursued such a course possess a larger number of these facts than those who have not is a quite different matter from deter-

mining whether these facts have influenced the vocational plans of the students in a desirable manner.

In an effort reported by Hand to determine whether pupils who had taken a "life-career" course made better scores on a test of vocational and educational information than did comparable pupils who had not taken such a course, it was found that differences favorable to the life-careers group were so slight as to be insignificant.[1] On the other hand, Lincoln reports a significant difference in improvement in knowledge of occupations in favor of those who studied occupations for twenty weeks as compared with a control group composed of those who did not pursue this study, as measured by scores made on the Brewer-Lincoln tests of vocational and educational information before and after the experiment.[2] Lincoln reports, also (1) that some improvement was made by the control group, and (2) that "the separate class meeting five times a week is shown, within the limits of the experiment, to be the most effective means of presenting vocational and educational information."[3]

An experiment conducted by Williamson with college students gave results even more favorable to the formal study of occupations than those reported by Lincoln, as far as factual knowledge in the field is concerned. Even the control groups in Williamson's experiment gained approximately seven points in occupational information as measured by the test given at the beginning and again at the end of the experimental period. Thus substantial improvement in factual knowledge concerning occupations occurred in case of these college students even though no course in the subject was taken. However, improvement by the groups that studied occupational information as measured by the same tests, was two to three times as great as was that of the control groups.[4]

Of course, the entire matter of measuring the effectiveness of occupational information courses in the schools is still in its infancy. Certainly, unless it can be proved that those who have

[1] H. C. Hand, *An Appraisal of the Occupations or Life-career Course*, Palo Alto, Calif.: The author, 1934.

[2] Mildred E. Lincoln, *Teaching about Vocational Life*, p. 471. Scranton, Pa.: International Textbook Company, 1937.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 477.

[4] E. G. Williamson, "A College Class in Vocational Information," *School Review*, XLV (February, 1937), 123–130.

pursued such courses possess a greater body of factual data that are significant in choosing a vocation than do those who have not, the subject has no justification for vocational guidance purposes. Certainly, also, it is desirable to determine the relative effectiveness of different methods of teaching the subject. It is desirable that testing along these lines be continued. But until tests are devised which measure the influence of the factual data acquired by members of the class on their vocational choices, much still remains to be done in measuring the effectiveness of occupational information courses.[1]

Summary

Supplying youth with information concerning occupations is a first step in vocational guidance. The kind of information needed depends on how far the youth has progressed toward his choice of occupation. Before selecting the curriculum he will pursue in junior high school he needs to know about the general requirements of the large groups of occupations as classified by the United States Census. Before choosing a particular occupation he needs quite specific information concerning a few occupations that interest him most.

A general outline for study of a particular occupation should include: (1) importance of the occupation; (2) nature of the work; (3) working conditions; (4) personal qualities needed; (5) preparation needed; (6) opportunities for advancement; (7) compensation; (8) advantages and disadvantages. This outline may be used both for class study of a typical occupation in each of the large census groups and in study by the individual pupil of each occupation that interests him.

Occupational information is worthy of a place as a separate subject in the secondary school curriculum. Usually when taught only in connection with English, social studies, practical arts, or some other regular subject the teacher slights occupational information. A teacher of this subject requires special preparation.

[1] A summary of attempts to measure results of vocational guidance, 1907–1932, prepared by Harry D. Kitson and E. M. Stover, will be found in the *Personnel Journal*, XI (October, 1932), 150–159. A summary of similar attempts for the period 1932 to 1937, by Harry D. Kitson and Margaret Crane, will be found in *Occupations: The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, XVI (June, 1938), 837–842.

Detailed study of a large number of specific occupations by all members of a class is undesirable. It is better for each member to study a few occupations that interest him and report to the class.

In addition to providing for study of occupations as a special subject, every subject teacher in the secondary school should be expected to assist his pupils to obtain significant information concerning the occupations which are closely related to his subject. He should know more about the opportunities and requirements of these occupations than anyone else connected with the school.

In teaching occupational information pupil initiative and pupil activity can easily be used in many ways with good results. Much responsibility should be placed upon the pupil for gathering information from firsthand sources in accordance with the outline. Outside speakers dealing with their own occupations may be used to a limited extent. Much good visual material concerning occupations is available. A large amount of printed material in book and pamphlet form can be obtained for reference use New material of this type is appearing constantly. It is important that material used be recent since conditions in this field change rapidly. The class itself can be used to good advantage in gathering up-to-date information concerning local occupations.

While it is highly desirable that the effectiveness of teaching along this line should be measured, relatively limited means for this purpose have yet been devised.

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CHAPTER IX

THE SELF-INVENTORY SERVICE

Nature of self-inventory service. As its name implies, the purpose of this service is to aid the individual in taking stock of his personal assets and liabilities. It seeks to acquaint him with and to help him evaluate his abilities, aptitudes, interests, limitations, personality traits, and achievements that should be taken into account in making plans for the future. It is obvious that such stock-taking is necessary in relation to educational, vocational, recreational, and community-service activities alike, if the individual is to make desirable progress in these respects in accordance with some well considered plan, rather than merely to drift. However, it is with the vocational implications of this stock-taking that the present discussion is primarily concerned.

While this service may properly be described as that of aiding an individual to take stock of his personal assets and liabilities, it must not be thought of as a service that is performed once for all during that individual's school career nor even at fixed intervals only. It is rather a continuous process which involves self-discovery, also. It helps the individual, by means of school and other experiences, to find his hidden assets and liabilities as well as to list and evaluate those of which he is already conscious.

What a self-inventory service includes. A vocational guidance program that undertakes to provide an adequate service of this type will give much attention to what are generally called exploratory or tryout experiences, especially to such as have significance in relation to vocational choice. One who samples the fundamental experiences of an occupation knows more about his aptitudes and limitations with reference to that occupation, and sometimes with reference to an entire group of related occupations, than he could possibly learn in any other way.[1] Such

[1] Eaton stresses this point when he says: "The most real and vital means to knowledge of vocation-mode in relation to one-self is participation in it. But it is a means distinctly limited. Observation permits of use of a wider

experiences help, also, to reveal to the individual some aspects of his personality that should be taken into account in choosing an occupation. And these results accrue whether or not the individual is aware that this is an important part of the purpose of the experiences.

A second agency of the self-inventory is self-analysis or self-rating with reference to a limited number of the individual's most important personality assets and liabilities. The individual judges subjectively the degree to which he possesses each of the qualities on the self-analysis list, which will be discussed later. To be sure, the exploratory experiences through which he has passed furnish data for this self-rating process. In fact, filling out a self-analysis form may be considered as merely analyzing and bringing together important results of one's exploratory experiences of various sorts. For example, it is on the basis of these experiences that he must decide how to rate himself on cooperation, if the rating is to be of real significance.

Then, too, the counseling service, to which a later chapter is devoted, makes an important contribution to the individual's self-inventory. In helping the individual to consider himself in relation to the courses of action that lie open to him, it is first of all necessary for him to understand himself. A more complete discussion of counseling in relation to the self-inventory service will be found in Chap. XIII.

It should be noted that both exploratory experiences and self-ratings furnish data that will be used in other ways in the guidance program. For example, reports filed by teachers of courses that are highly exploratory in character provide important data of the type described in Chaps. XI and XII for use in counseling and in placement. But in this chapter attention will be centered on the parts exploration and self-rating play in acquainting the

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range of resources, but is second to participation in vividness. Instructional information allows use of abundant resources, but is far behind the other means in convincing reality of experience. Moreover, it is largely futile except as it is founded upon firsthand experience through participation and observation of activities typical of those with which it purports to deal. No test has yet been devised which will take the place of active adventuring in the economic medium. But tests have a place in discovery of aptitudes and resources in the individual." THEODORE H. EATON, *Education and Vocations*, p. 140, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1926.

individual directly with his assets and liabilities that are significant for his vocational success.

Vocational Exploration

Exploratory function of the junior high school. Authorities on the junior high school or intermediate school, as it is sometimes called, embracing the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades, agree that one of the most important functions of this school is to provide tryout or exploratory experiences for its pupils. This, they say, is the period par excellence for exploration of a great variety of individual tastes, interests, and capacities—artistic, literary, scientific, linguistic, and vocational.

Koos, in discussing the junior high school twenty years ago, pointed out that the function of exploration for guidance is a corollary to the function of recognition of individual differences. He maintained that, since differences among pupils are of sufficient importance to be recognized, provision should be made for the discovery of these differences.[1]

Also some two decades ago, Briggs placed third in his list of five things the junior high school should attempt to do: "To explore, by means of material in itself worth while, the interests, aptitudes, and capacities of pupils."[2]

Somewhat more recently Davis stated the case even more emphatically:

> Of all the functions of the junior high school, that which seeks to aid pupils in discovering their own capacities and limitations, interests and distastes, powers and weaknesses, is, in the judgment of the writer, the most important. It is this function above all others that justifies the reorganization of schools on a new basis.[3]

Inglis[4] and other authorities on the junior high school followed with similar emphasis on the exploratory function of this unit of the school system. A good statement of more recent date

[1] Leonard V. Koos, *The Junior High School*, p. 48, New York: Harcourt, Brace, & Company, Inc., 1920.

[2] T. H. Briggs, *The Junior High School*, pp. 165–67, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920

[3] C. O. Davis, *Junior High School Education*, p. 99, Yonkers-on-Hudson, N. Y.: World Book Company, 1924.

[4] Alexander J. Inglis, "Vocational Guidance in Secondary Education," *The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, IV (October, 1925), 4.

concerning the exploratory function of the junior high school is that presented in a publication of the Pasadena school system:

In the junior high school it is necessary and important to continue this common integrating education but *this is no longer the dominant note.* The dominant note of junior high school education is expressed by the word "exploration." By this we mean that the student is exploring with two purposes in view, (1) to become acquainted with as many fields of human interest and activity as possible in order that he may better understand the world in which he lives and have a background for choosing a field in which to work later on; (2) to become better acquainted with himself through a variety of school experiences in which he may discover his best aptitudes and interests. It is because the junior high school is chiefly concerned with this exploratory process that the guidance program must be most carefully planned and emphasized.[1]

Still more recently, the Committee on the Orientation of Secondary Education, appointed by the Department of Secondary School Principals of the National Education Association, presented as fourth of nine functions of secondary education: "To explore higher and increasingly specialized interests, aptitudes and capacities of students, looking toward the direction of them into avenues of study and of work for which they have manifested peculiar fitness."[2]

Exploration in senior high school and college. The exploratory function of the formal educational program persists in the senior high school and even in the college, though it does not characterize these institutions so fully as it does the junior high school. To be sure, the general education objective which dominates the work of the elementary school continues strong in junior high school, senior high school, and college. Also, the vocational preparatory objective comes into the picture in the senior high school period and continues on through college and the professional school. But along with the general education and the vocational preparatory objectives of senior high school and college goes, also, the exploratory objective. The so-called "orientation course" required of freshmen students by some

[1] *A Bulletin of Information on the Junior High Schools for Parents, Teachers, and Pupils,* p. 9, Pasadena, Calif.: Board of Education, November, 1932.

[2] Department of Secondary School Principals, National Education Association, *Bulletin* 64, (January, 1937), 95–116.

colleges is definite recognition of this objective on the college level. In reality, all senior high school and college work, for whatever purpose it is offered, serves an exploratory purpose also. For example, high school mathematics has tested, in certain respects, many a boy's fitness for engineering, and college courses in science have helped many a freshman and sophomore discover whether he should go into a scientific career.

Means of providing high school youth with vocational exploratory experiences. In the discussion that follows, attention will be given only to those tryout or exploratory experiences which seem to have significance in relation to vocational choices. Exploratory experiences for the sake of or significant for educational, recreational, or community-service guidance concern us here only as they aid the individual in making an inventory of his own vocational aptitudes and interests and his personality traits.

Various bases of classification of the means used for exploratory purposes in junior and senior high school are available. For the purposes of this chapter, they will be grouped under three headings: (1) exploratory experiences provided in the school through the subjects included in the program of studies; (2) exploratory experiences provided in the school by means of the activities program, sometimes called extracurricular activities; and (3) exploratory experiences provided outside the school in part-time, afterschool, or summer employment.

Exploration by means of school subjects. Most junior high schools and many senior high schools make extensive provision for what are called "vocational tryout" or "exploratory" courses. The offerings which are stressed for this purpose, often designated practical arts, include agriculture, commercial subjects, household arts, and industrial arts, the last named including mechanical drawing. In some schools the vocational exploratory function is stressed also in music and freehand drawing. Especially is this true in case of freehand drawing when commercial art is included in the program.

It is understood, of course, that all these subjects are expected to serve other purposes also. It is generally agreed that the content of the course should always be "in itself worth while,"[1] as Briggs puts it, though this must not be considered as mini-

[1] BRIGGS, *op. cit.*

mizing the worth-whileness of the exploratory purpose. Another way of expressing it would be that any so-called "vocational exploratory" course should be rich in both general education and exploratory values. Otherwise it cannot be justified in the program of the school.

The extent to which the different practical arts subjects are offered in junior high schools of the Middle West is shown by the following table representing all junior high schools in the territory of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools at the time the investigation was made. While this material is now some years old, it is believed that the situation has not changed to any great extent.

PERCENTAGE OF JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS IN NORTH CENTRAL TERRITORY OFFERING CERTAIN SUBJECTS AS ELECTIVES

Subject	Percentage
Latin	27.6
Modern foreign language	27.3
Algebra	24.2
General science	30.4
Industrial arts	88 7
Domestic science and arts	88.4
Drawing	75.4
Music	71.7
Agriculture	25 9
Ancient history	3.8
General history of modern Europe	6.5
Commercial work	16.7
Distinctive vocational work	5.1
Printing	8.2

It is seen from this table that in North Central territory at least, industrial arts and household arts are offered as electives in nearly all the junior high schools and that the percentage of such schools offering these subjects is greater than the percentage offering any other elective subject. In this connection it should be noted that many schools require a certain amount of work in these two subjects, usually in the first and second semesters, and offer them as electives in other semesters of the junior high school program. The total percentage of North Central junior high schools in which exploratory courses in these fields are actually provided is, therefore, even larger than would appear from the above table. As would be expected, agriculture is not offered

as an elective by a large proportion of the junior high schools, nor is commercial work. The former is usually omitted from the school program in larger and medium-sized cities, while both subjects find a much larger place in senior than in junior high schools.

The place given to practical arts in the junior high schools of one of the large eastern states is suggested by the following table which presents minimum standards published in 1937 by the State Department of Public Instruction of Pennsylvania for programs of accredited junior high schools. A period of 1 hour in length is recommended.

STANDARD PROGRAM OF STUDIES OF ACCREDITED JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS IN PENNSYLVANIA

Seventh year		Eighth year		Ninth year	
Subject	Periods per week	Subject	Periods per week	Subject	Periods per week
English	5	English	5	English	4
Mathematics	5	Mathematics	4	Mathematics	4
Social studies	4	Social studies	4	Social science	4
Geography and science	5	Geography and science	3	General science	4
Health	3	Health	3	Health	2
Practical arts	2	Practical arts	[illegible]	Practical arts	2
Home ec (girls)		Home ec. (girls)		Home ec. (girls)	
Shop (boys)		Shop (boys)		Shop (boys)	
Fine arts	2	Fine arts	2	Fine arts	2
Art (1)		Art (1)		Art (1)	
Music (1)		Music (1)		Music (1)	
Activities	3	Activities	3	Activities	3
Auditorium		Auditorium		Auditorium	
Homeroom		Homeroom		Homeroom	
Clubs		Clubs		Clubs	
Guidance	1	Guidance	1	Guidance	1
				Elective subjects (select one)	
				Jr. business training	4
				Latin	4

It will be observed that this program provides for two hours of required work per week in home economics for girls and the same amount in shop for boys throughout the junior high school period. Provision is made, also, for four hours of junior business

PASADENA JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

GRADE SEVEN

*Basic Pattern**

Health and physical education
English
Social science
Arithmetic
Home economics (for girls)
  Clothing, 7-1
  Foods, 7-2
Industrial arts (for boys)
  Woodshop, 7-1
  Mechanical drawing and printing, 7-2
Music and art

Electives

Choice in the required music†
  Band
  General music
  Orchestra
  Piano, 7-1

GRADE EIGHT

*Basic Pattern**

Health and physical education
English
Social science
General science
Electives (two)

Electives‡

Art
Commercial subjects
  Penmanship and spelling (1 semester)
Foreign languages
  Broadening and finding course in French, German, Latin, and Spanish, 1 semester, 8-2 only
Home economics
  Homemaking (foods) (1 semester)
  Homemaking (clothing) (1 semester)
Industrial arts
  Electricity and sheet metal (first semester)
  Elementary mechanics (second semester)
Library craft (1 semester)§
Mathematics
  Arithmetic (if only 1 semester is elected, it should be the first, 8-1)
Music†
  Band
  Junior glee club
  Orchestra

GRADE NINE

Basic Pattern

Health and physical education
English
Social science
Electives (two)

GRADE TEN

Basic Pattern

Health and physical education
English
Biology
Electives (two)

* Unless otherwise indicated each subject listed continues through two semesters.

† In order to meet the needs of individuals most effectively in relation to music offerings, certain exceptions to general regulations are sometimes desirable.

‡ Credit may be secured for one semester of any two-semester elective.

§ A ninth- or tenth-grade elective at one junior high school.

Ninth- and Tenth-grade Electives

Subject	Credits allowed	Subject	Credits allowed
Art:		Industrial arts:	
Artcraft	1	Architectural drawing	1
Commercial	½	Automobile mechanics	1
Design and decoration	½	Electricity	1½
Illustration	½	Machine drawing	1
Stagecraft	½	Machine shop	1
Commercial subjects:		Mechanical drawing	1
Business training	1	Printing	2
Typing	1	General metalworking	1
Personal accounts	1	Woodshop	2
English:		Mathematics:	
Dramatics	½	Algebra	1
Newswriting	½	Plane geometry	1
Public speaking	½	Music:	
Foreign language:		Band	2
French	2	Glee club	2
German	2	Orchestra	2
Latin	2	Social science:	
Spanish	2	World history	1
Home economics:			
Homemaking:			
Foods	½		
Clothing	½		
Foods, advanced	½		
Clothing, advanced	½		
Homecraft	½		

training as an elective during the ninth grade. It should be understood that these are minimum requirements for accredited junior high schools. Publications of the State Department of Public Instruction stress the exploratory purpose of these subjects, along with other objectives.

More varied exploratory opportunities are provided in the Pasadena, Calif., four-year junior high schools (seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth grades) as will be seen by examining the foregoing recent program of studies from that city.

Practical arts in senior high school. Practical arts subjects are not offered in as large a percentage of three- and four-year senior high schools as of junior high schools. The reason for this seems to be that many of the four-year schools especially are found in

small communities that do not maintain junior high schools and that have not felt able to offer practical arts in any of the school years. However, commercial, industrial arts, and home-economics subjects are offered in practically all of the larger high schools and in those of medium size, and agriculture in a good percentage of the smaller ones. And these subjects are taken by large numbers of pupils as is shown by the following table in which 2,558 high schools with an enrollment of 1,330,142 pupils are represented.

PERCENTAGE OF ENROLLMENT IN EACH SUBJECT-MATTER FIELD FOR NORTH CENTRAL ASSOCIATION, 1934–35

Subject	Percentage of total enrollments		
	1925	1930	1935
Mathematics	55.2	54.9	47.5
English	86.3	97 6	97.3
Latin	24 8	21 9	17.0
French	9.4	9 4	8.0
Spanish	9 1	7 9	6.0
German	1 0	2 5	3 5
Total foreign languages	44.1	42.8	35.1
Social studies	62.1	69.3	74 8
Sciences	43.5	49.0	51.8
Commercial subjects	45.5	56.0	66.8
Industrial arts	13.8	16.6	24.1
Household arts	14 7	13 4	14.7
Agriculture	3.2	3.2	3.0
Music		38 3	38.1
Art		7 0	7.4

In reading this table it should be kept in mind that industrial arts courses are taken almost exclusively by boys and household arts courses by girls. Also, that the percentages given are for all years of the high school combined, thus assuring a higher percentage proportionately for subjects that are pursued three or four years than for those pursued a shorter period of time, and for required subjects than for elective subjects. The table really means that during the year 1934–1935 one-half of the boys in these 2,558 high schools were in industrial arts classes, nearly one-third of the girls were in household arts classes, and two-

thirds of the girls and boys (mostly girls) were in the commercial classes. The percentages taking these subjects during their three or four years in high school were doubtless considerably larger, since many pursue subjects of this type only one or two years.

It should be noted, also, that the subjects showing the largest percentage of increase in enrollments in both the five- and the ten-year periods ending in 1935 were the commercial and the industrial arts subjects.

The significance of these facts for vocational exploration deserves emphasis. True, the vocational preparatory objective is stressed in much of this work on the senior high school level, especially in case of commercial subjects. But even when taken for vocational preparatory purposes these subjects have important exploratory values in that many pupils discover an aptitude or lack of aptitude for specific occupations in the industrial or business field and their vocational plans become more specific as a result. Even though, as is too often the case, neither teacher nor pupil is conscious of the exploratory objective, the experiences through which the pupil passes in his work do serve an exploratory purpose.

Exploration for agricultural occupations. The junior high school work actually given in agriculture differs greatly in exploratory values. In one city with a population of 50,000, it consists of textbook and indoor laboratory work, dealing only with plant life. In another city of nearly 2 million population, Los Angeles, both plant and animal life are covered and splendidly equipped gardens are provided as laboratories. Gardening, plant propagation and lath-house work, landscaping, fruit production, forestry and conservation, care of livestock and pets, including dairy work and poultry raising, are all offered in the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades, work in the eighth and ninth grades being elective. Things a boy should be able to do and should know in the plant propagation and lath-house work are thus described in one of the publications of the Los Angeles school system:

PLANT PROPAGATION AND LATH-HOUSE WORK

Things a Boy Should Be Able to Do:

1. Mix nursery soils.
2. Plant seeds in flats.
3. Transplant plants into flats and pots.

4. Use cold frames.
5. Make the following cuttings: simple, heel, mallet, single eye, leaf.
6. Set and care for cuttings.
7. Water plant materials properly.
8. Apply fertilizers correctly.
9. Prevent plant diseases.
10. Plant bulbs, tubers, and rhizomes.
11. Make root divisions of plants.
12. Propagate plants from runners and layerings.
13. Prune and shape plants properly.

Things a Boy Should Know:

1. Types of soil: sand, silt, clay, loam.
2. Uses of soils and their mixtures.
3. Scientific technique of planting seed and setting cuttings.
4. How to handle and care for young plants.
5. Uses of hard wood, soft wood and succulent cuttings
6. The water requirements of plants.
7. Uses of plant foods.
8. Plant diseases and insect pests and their means of control.
9. Scientific methods of improving plants through crossbreeding and selection.
10. The technique and advantages of budding and grafting.
11. Methods and practices in pruning shrubs, ornamental trees, fruit trees, and berries.

The two cities to which reference has just been made are, however, exceptions to the general rule in making any provision at all for instruction in agriculture in their junior high schools. In the great majority of city school systems this subject is considered as suitable for rural areas and small towns, and these maintain junior high schools only in exceptional cases. It will be noted, for example, that the Standard Program of Studies of Accredited Junior High Schools in Pennsylvania (see page 131) does not include any provision for instruction in agriculture, though commercial, home economics, and shopwork are included. But, while not maintaining the junior high school organization, many rural and small-town schools teach agriculture in the junior high school grades, though usually with little concern about its vocational exploratory values. The assumption seems to be that the pupils obtain adequate exploratory experiences in the farm homes from which most of them come.

In many four-year high schools and in some three-year senior high schools in smaller cities and towns, agriculture is offered on a vocational preparatory basis, with federal and state aid under

the provisions of the Smith-Hughes and George-Deen Acts. There were, for example, 343 such high schools in Illinois in the year 1938–1939, 350 in Ohio, 45 in Maine, 174 in California, 411 in North Carolina, and 192 in Oklahoma. Every state has some high schools offering these federally aided courses in agriculture, the total number of such schools being more than 8,000 in 1939, with approximately 300,000 students enrolled in agriculture. For the most part these schools are in comparatively small towns. While it is assumed that pupils entering these courses have already decided in favor of an agricultural occupation, many change their minds and go into other lines of work as a result of their experiences in the agriculture courses, and a still larger number find these courses a means of helping them to decide which branch of agriculture they wish to follow. The material dealing with farm crops, vegetable gardening, horticulture, animal husbandry, farm management, and poultry raising, including project work each year, is rich in exploratory values. In fact, senior high school agriculture is serving this purpose to a much greater extent than is junior high school agriculture.

In view of the facts presented above it is clear that the number of youth who are really obtaining agricultural exploratory experiences in American schools, even including those in vocational preparatory classes, is extremely small in comparison with the 10,471,988 people who, according to the 1930 census, are engaged in this field of work. It will be recalled from the table on page 134, that only 3 per cent of the pupils enrolled in 1935 in the three- and four-year senior high schools of that great agricultural area embraced in the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools were enrolled in agricultural classes, and most of these were doubtless taking the subject for vocational preparatory purposes. The only conclusion one can draw from the present situation in this respect is that, with all the emphasis which has been placed in recent years on the vocational exploratory function of education, the great group of agricultural occupations has been neglected. Yet there is no logic in the assumption, which seems to be general, to the effect that city school systems should ignore agriculture. It is just as true that many city youth would find occupations for which they are peculiarly fitted in the agricultural group as it is that many rural youth will find suitable occupations in the city.

Exploration for business occupations. The place that commercial subjects should occupy in the junior high school has proved very perplexing to educational administrators. In some cities no commercial work is offered in this school; in others, only business practice in the eighth grade, and typing and bookkeeping in the ninth. In still others typing is offered five hours per week in the seventh and eighth grades, with stenography, commercial English, commercial arithmetic, and bookkeeping in the ninth grade. In the Pennsylvania Standard Program for Accredited Junior High Schools already mentioned,[1] junior business training in the ninth grade is the only commercial subject included.

The fact of the matter seems to be that in the early days of the junior high school movement commercial subjects were taken over bodily from the traditional four-year high school program without first determining whether they were suited either to the maturity of the pupils or to the purposes of the junior high school. The idea of exploration in the business field appealed to school administrators quite as strongly as exploration in the industrial field, and properly so. But it was a mistake, of course, to assume that the commercial subjects as developed to serve the needs of four-year high school pupils would serve equally well the needs of junior high school pupils.

Various efforts have been made to improve this situation. As long ago as 1919 the subcommittee on Business Education of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education reported:

> The question has insistently been asked, "When may commercial education begin?" With the introduction of the junior high school, there has been the temptation to transfer to this school highly specialized instruction in shorthand, typewriting, and bookkeeping. In other words, the custom has been to give a fairly complete technical training by the completion of the ninth or tenth year. The committee regards this tendency as regrettable.
>
> The committee believes that tryout commercial instruction of a general character may well be given in the seventh and eighth school years. Such a procedure has the double advantage of giving all the pupils some knowledge of commercial affairs, which knowledge will be of value to them no matter what line of work they may later enter

[1] See p. 131.

upon; and, secondly, it gives the basis for an intelligent choice of school subjects. Any plan which requires pupils at the beginning of the seventh or the eighth school year to make a choice of future occupation, that cannot later be easily changed, must work great harm. At this time they have not had the experience, nor have they the knowledge, to choose wisely.

It is further our opinion that the commercial education of the ninth school year may well be of a somewhat general character, such as giving training in the use of the typewriter, the teaching of the fundamentals of accounts, and such practical applications of general subjects as will serve at once as a foundation for later commercial instruction and be of practical use to those who must leave school at the end of the ninth year.

The committee suggested for the eighth year "First Lessons in Business" including business habits, record work, business forms, systems of filing, taking and executing orders, wrapping and shipping goods, messenger service, work of stock clerks, making change and preparing money for deposit, simple accounts and journal entries, and drill in penmanship. For the ninth year the committee recommended elementary bookkeeping and typewriting.

More recently leaders in commercial education have stressed for the junior high school years typewriting as a tool subject for use mainly in the nonvocational activities of life and a general course, called "junior business training," which is usually offered in the ninth grade, without wage-earning implications. The vocational exploratory values of both of these subjects are emphasized, also, by most authorities. However, Pringle,[1] in his recent book on the junior high school, ignores the commercial subjects entirely though he discusses home economics and industrial arts and mentions the exploratory values of these subjects. The Pennsylvania State Department of Public Instruction does not mention typewriting for junior high school but recommends that junior business training be offered one to three semesters in the eighth and ninth grades, preferably in the ninth, and adds: "Every pupil in the junior high school may well take this course." The purpose of the course is stated as follows:

To furnish a tryout or exploratory business course that will aid all pupils in discovering whether or not their interests and abilities are

[1] Ralph W. Pringle, *The Junior High School: A Psychological Approach*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1937.

in the commercial field, aid commercial pupils in choosing a special business activity, and aid those leaving school to choose the kind of work to enter.[1]

In the senior high school period commercial subjects, like agricultural subjects, are offered largely as vocational preparatory, though many teachers of this work are still thinking of it primarily in terms of general education. Bookkeeping, typewriting, shorthand, commercial arithmetic, commercial law, commercial geography, business English, filing, comptometer and adding-machine operating, and retail selling are the subjects most often included, with most of the time given to typewriting, shorthand, and bookkeeping. More than two-thirds of all enrollments in commercial subjects in North Central Association high schools for 1934–1935 were in these three subjects.

It has already been noted that the percentage of senior high school pupils who take commercial subjects is very large—66.8 per cent in North Central schools in 1934–1935. No other group of elective subjects had so many students enrolled. In fact, only the English and social studies groups, much of which work is required, showed a larger number of enrollments.

Even though most of the commercial work of the senior high school period has either a general education purpose in the sense of preparing for personal business needs, or a definite vocational preparatory purpose, based on the assumption that those who are taking it have already decided to enter the business field, nevertheless it has important exploratory values for many pupils, especially for those who have not already taken similar work for tryout purposes in the junior high school. Some are turned away from business careers by the sample obtained; many others are helped to decide between general office work, clerical work, accounting, retail selling, and the like; and still others catch a vision of the larger possibilities in business for which college preparation in business administration is desirable.

On the whole, however, it must be admitted that the contribution of both junior and senior high school commercial subjects to vocational exploration in the field of business is still extremely meager compared with its possibilities. There is too little

[1] Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction: *The Administration of Commercial Education in Secondary Schools*, Bulletin 102, 1937.

appreciation of these possibilities on the part of those responsible for commercial education and too little planning for the realization of its exploratory values. High school principals and commercial teachers should recognize more fully the vocational exploratory significance of this work which claims the interest of so large a proportion of secondary school students. A few commercial teachers are beginning to insist, and quite logically, that admission to courses that are designed to prepare for business occupations should be limited to those who have shown ability in earlier commercial courses in which the exploratory aim is stressed. Senior high school work in commercial subjects which follows that stressing exploration would then be for two distinct groups of pupils, one preparing for business occupations and the other preparing better to care for their personal business affairs regardless of their future occupations. Of course, exploratory courses in this field should always be supplemented by information concerning the opportunities and requirements of business occupations, as was discussed in the previous chapter.

Exploration through household arts courses. In household arts subjects as they are taught in most junior and senior high schools little attention is paid to their value for vocational exploratory purposes. In examining the stated objectives of household arts in a number of well-known school systems the author found no mention of vocational exploration. Most educators agree that these subjects deserve an important place in the program of secondary education, but the purposes usually stressed are to round out the general education of girls and to prepare them for the responsibilities of their present and future homes. For example, the major objectives of the Ithaca, N. Y., junior high school courses in household arts have been stated as follows:

1. To develop an appreciation of fundamental health facts as related to life practices.
2. To teach such necessary skills in meal planning, food preparation, and table service as will enable the pupil to apply successfully this knowledge in everyday living.
3. To arouse, within the pupil, a sincere effort to control her own food habits wisely.
4. To aid the pupil to establish an effective regard for the varying needs of the different members of her family.
5. To lead the pupil to plan understandingly her own daily program.

6. To help establish health standards related to the girl's clothing, which can be maintained successfully.

7. To assist the girl in setting up useful standards for the selection of clothing suitable for one of her age.

8. To arouse the girl's interest in developing skill in the construction and repair of simple garments.

9 To develop an appreciation of some of the factors for obtaining beauty in the home.

10. To develop skill in performing efficiently those home activities which are commensurate with the ability of a junior high school girl.

An examination of these major objectives and of courses actually offered in many secondary schools will show that while no particular attention has been given to the exploratory objective in formulating household arts courses, nevertheless these have considerable exploratory value. In the junior and senior high schools combined, girls have an opportunity to obtain experiences that should help them to a greater or less extent in deciding whether they wish to become wage earners as waitresses, cooks, café or cafeteria managers, seamstresses, milliners, designers in the fields of dress or home decoration, dietitians, or nurses. However, the experiences provided in some of these occupations are very limited. Moreover, little or no effort is usually made to supplement these meager experiences with information concerning the occupations represented which would be helpful in making a choice. It is noteworthy, also, that the range of occupations is narrow though it does contain some in which large numbers of women are employed. It must be admitted, therefore, that the household arts courses, as usually taught, do not function in a large way as vocational exploratory experiences.

Exploration for industrial occupations. Industrial arts is the first subject which comes to mind when vocational exploratory courses in the junior high school are mentioned. It was probably in connection with this subject that the terms "exploratory" and "tryout" as applied to school courses were first used. Certainly they have been used most often in this connection, and more attention has been given to organizing the material of industrial arts for exploratory purposes than has been given to organizing any other subject for these purposes.

It must not, however, be assumed that no other purpose is served by industrial arts in the junior high school. Properly

organized and presented, this subject, in addition to providing exploratory experiences, makes important contributions to general education. Indeed many who are engaged in educational work rate these other values as of higher importance.

It has been seen that nearly all junior high schools either require some work in industrial arts or offer courses in this field as electives. The Detroit, Mich., program, for example, includes a course in "household mechanics," required of all boys in the seventh grade, which consists mainly of projects in repair and upkeep of woodwork, plumbing, and electrical appliances of the home. After the seventh grade is completed, boys may elect the technical curriculum. In the eighth grade this includes work in four shop subjects, each for a period of ten weeks. Machine shop, pattern shop, electrical work, auto-mechanics, and printing are offered. The exploratory purpose of these courses is further emphasized in the ninth grade. The tendency in schools of medium size is to stress general shopwork of some kind in the earlier part of the junior high school and provide for more intensive work in special shops later if the school is large enough to justify this. There are still, however, many junior high schools that offer only woodwork and mechanical drawing, the former being of the old "manual training" type. The general shop course usually includes experiences in wood, metal, sheet metal, plumbing, mechanical drawing, and electrical work, especially in relation to upkeep of the modern home.

It is clear that the "manual training" type of course, even under the best conditions as to teaching and equipment, is extremely meager in exploratory values. It gives the boys samples of two or three woodworking trades only. The general shop type of course is immensely more valuable for exploratory purposes because it covers a much wider range of occupations and also because the occupations covered provide employment for large numbers of workers. Indeed the ordinary "manual training" course in woodwork affords pitifully poor exploratory experiences for one part only of the building trades, to say nothing of the metal, printing, textile, and other trades.

Exploration in the senior high school for industrial occupations. In the senior high school the problem of exploratory courses for industry has proved more complicated and difficult. A considerable percentage of boys and girls of low intelligence have left

school. Those who have gone will become, in the main, unskilled and low-grade skilled workers in industry and business workers in minor positions. From those who remain will be filled the great majority of the more important business positions, the highly skilled, technical, and executive positions in the industrial field, and professional positions.

Another feature of the problem is the fact that many of those who take industrial subjects in the senior high school are supposed to do so with a vocational preparatory purpose, on the assumption that a definite choice of occupation, or at least a choice within a comparatively narrow field such as engineering, was made in the junior high school. To be sure, vocational preparatory courses, as was pointed out in discussing agricultural and commercial subjects, often have high exploratory values. Many a boy's choice has been confirmed and many another's changed by his experiences in senior high school electricity, or machine-shop work, or automechanics work. It is a serious question, however, whether there may not well be offered more widely in senior high school an industrial course of general character in which the exploratory purpose is prominent. If offered, such a course properly would start in the tenth grade, though it might be extended into the eleventh grade. Naturally it would be quite different from the general shop course of the junior high school and would stress technical and minor executive aspects of industry as well as trade-process aspects. The presumption would be that many of the boys had had the junior high school course, though it might be open also to those who had not.

There can be no question that much of the shopwork now given in the senior high school years functions very poorly either for vocational preparation or vocational tryout purposes. Nor does it make much of a contribution to the general education of the student. Possibly a tenth-grade course for tryout purposes, with emphasis upon the highly skilled, technical, and minor executive aspects of industry, followed by definitely vocational work for "families" of trades in the later grades, would be the best solution of the difficulties which now surround senior high school shop courses.

Limited number of occupations for which exploratory courses are provided. From this examination of the offerings of junior and senior high schools in agriculture, business, household arts,

and industrial arts, it appears that the number of occupations for which exploratory experiences are provided is very small in comparison with the total number in which men and women are employed. Payne called attention to this in striking manner some years ago, stating that there are 17,000 occupations in New York City, while the junior high schools of that city are providing exploratory courses in only eight of these.[1]

But the situation even then was not nearly so hopeless as Payne seemed to think. In the first place, courses of this type provide exploratory experiences for broad fields of employment. Where the proper courses are offered, it is possible for a boy to determine by exploration whether his interests and aptitudes lie in the field of agriculture, business, or industry; and if in industry, whether in the metal trades, building, electrical, or printing trades. In addition, it is often possible for him to obtain some experience in more than one trade belonging to the field of his particular interest.

In the second place, the specific occupations represented in the exploratory courses are, or should be, those in which large numbers of people are employed. Undoubtedly it is true, as Payne maintained, that important occupations are not represented in the exploratory courses provided by the schools of New York City. On the other hand, it is true, also, that the great majority of his 17,000 occupations are relatively unimportant as far as number of workers is concerned. It is quite possible that as many people are employed in 100 of these occupations as in the other 16,900. So, while it must be granted that the range of exploratory courses is still very inadequate, particularly in business and household arts fields, it must be granted, also, that valuable work is done through the courses already provided.

Possibility of exploratory courses for the professions. In what has been said thus far, exploratory courses for the professions have not been mentioned. Obviously providing in high school exploratory experiences in medicine or dentistry, for example, is quite a different matter from providing exploratory experiences in the trades. The large body of technical knowledge upon which the practice of any profession depends is perhaps the most serious obstacle, aside from the fact that human material

[1] A. F. Payne, "The Problem of the Tryout Courses," *Industrial Arts Magazine*, XIV (May, 1925), 168–170.

is not so readily available as wood and metal for exploratory purposes. Yet it is quite conceivable that a sufficient number of the more elementary experiences of any profession might be brought together to form a fairly good exploratory course for senior high school students.

In law, a moot court might be used to advantage, with a variety of legal experiences organized around it. In medicine and nursing, the health inspection work and in dentistry the dental clinic work of the school system might serve as centers around which observation and simple exploratory experiences would be organized. Other professions would lend themselves to this plan quite as readily as those mentioned. To be sure, work of this character would need to be supplemented with occupational information material concerning the opportunities and requirements of each profession as the class participates in its observation and simple experiences. For example, study of the requirements of the legal profession and trips to real courts and to real lawyers' offices should accompany the school work organized around the moot court.

As far as the writer knows, no high school has yet organized and maintained successful exploratory courses for the professions, though some principals have insisted that it is quite as logical a thing to do as to give these courses for the trades, and high school pupils have asked that it be done. It is to be hoped that some adventurous soul, who is at the same time wise and capable, will undertake this difficult task in the near future. In the meantime it seems necessary to be content with what the academic and scientific subjects of the curriculum contribute to exploration for the professions. In the hands of teachers who are alive to their opportunities, this contribution may be of greater value than is usually realized.

Making exploratory courses more effective. In the preceding discussion questions have been raised at times concerning the effectiveness of the vocational exploration provided by means of some of the subjects which educators are in the habit of classifying in the tryout or exploratory group. There can be no doubt that the exploratory values of these subjects as taught in most schools can be multiplied many times.

A first step in this direction is to make the teacher more fully conscious of the fact that his subject is rich in exploratory

possibilities and that it is an important part of his job to see that these possibilities are realized. Many teachers give this matter little thought.

A second step is to increase the number of elements in the course which are identical with or similar to elements of the occupation for which the course is exploratory. This can usually be done to a marked extent without interfering in any way with the other than exploratory purposes of the course. In fact, practical arts courses have often been made more interesting and successful by this very means. Pupils like to do things in shop and laboratory that are done by workers in real life rather than to do exercise jobs only.

A third step is to modify methods of teaching and class management so that some of the best features of the working environment of the occupation are brought into the work of the school subject. A good illustration of this is found in those industrial arts shops where the class is divided into groups with a pupil foreman in charge of each group, the teacher serving at times as a sort of shop superintendent as well as teacher. Production jobs done under conditions similar to those of actual employment by a teacher who appreciates the exploratory values for his pupils of what is going on are quite as practicable in case of agriculture, household arts, and commercial subjects as in case of industrial arts subjects, and without sacrificing other values of the work.

Need for measuring the effectiveness of exploratory courses. Every course that is offered with an exploratory purpose needs to be subjected occasionally to the closest scrutiny in order to make sure that it is actually performing this function effectively. Unfortunately no adequate method of measuring the effectiveness of such courses has yet been developed. It has been taken for granted that a course which had this as one of its announced purposes was making good. Administrative authorities and teachers of many school systems assume that their boys and girls are obtaining a valuable exploratory service from courses that function very imperfectly in this respect. It is high time that such courses were called to account.

But there is no objective standard for judging their worth, for determining the extent to which pupils' vocational interests and plans have been influenced by their experiences in these courses. Efforts to evaluate vocational guidance activities have

either ignored vocational exploration or failed to separate it from other parts of the program. Occasionally a subjective judgment from industry is illuminating, such as that made by the associate supervisor of training in R. R. Donnelly and Sons Company of Chicago, when he said, "Boys brought to us by printing teachers are vocationally 'set' nine times out of ten. Their course in printing has been truly a 'finding' course."[1] However, very few employers are able to make such a statement. A few principals, directors, and supervisors form subjective judgments of the effectiveness of exploratory courses on the basis of their observation. But what is needed is a set of criteria as to content, organization, and methods of teaching to be used as standards in judging the value of an exploratory course; or some kind of set of standardized objective tests to be given the pupils in order to measure results of courses given for this purpose. A record of such results would be of value in counseling individual pupils as well as in determining how effectively the exploratory course is really functioning.

Vocational exploration by means of other than practical arts courses. From what has been said thus far it should not be assumed that agricultural, commercial, household arts, and industrial arts courses are the only ones in junior and senior high school that have exploratory value. It has already been noted that music and art courses are sometimes referred to as exploratory. It is true, also, that every other subject found in the secondary school program has vocational exploratory values to some extent, even though much less has been said about it than in the case of the practical arts. Mathematics, English, chemistry, physics, biology, etc., help pupils to discover aptitudes, interests, and limitations that have vocational significance for them just as truly as do the practical arts subjects. Many an industrial chemist discovered in high school chemistry the interest and aptitude that influenced him to choose his present occupation. And many a would-be engineer decided in favor of some other occupation because of his troubles with high school mathematics.

In view of these facts it seems to be highly desirable that educators generally and high school teachers in particular become

[1] G. M. Hoyt, "Vocational Guidance from the Point of View of Industry," Monographs on Vocational Education, 1925 Series, No. 2, p. 27, Chicago. Vocational Education Association of the Middle West, 1925.

more conscious of the exploratory possibilities of secondary education and provide more adequately for realization of these possibilities. There can be no question that most teachers could make their courses serve the vocational exploratory purpose more effectively and at the same time make them more interesting to their pupils without sacrificing any of the other values now derived from the courses. Suggestions concerning how this can be done for the practical arts subjects, presented on pages 146–147, are applicable here also. Of course, attention to information concerning the requirements and opportunities of occupations based upon the subject should accompany any efforts made by a teacher along this line. (See Chap. VII.)

Vocational exploration by means of extracurricular activities. In practically all junior and senior high schools, vocational exploratory experiences are available to boys and girls through activities, often called "extracurricular" activities, such as the school paper, dramatic and debating societies, work in the school cafeteria, and clubs of various sorts. Seldom is the exploratory purpose prominent, or even present, in the minds of the organizers of these activities, but this purpose is served for many a high school boy or girl, nevertheless. For example, newspaper careers, both on the news gathering and editorial side and on the business side, have been started by work on the high school paper. Some schools have undertaken to organize their entire student body into clubs, the individual's interests and hobbies determining the club to which he belongs. Notable among these was the Washington Junior High School, Rochester, N. Y., with more than 60 clubs. In 1934 this school became a five-year junior-senior high school, grades 8 to 12. With the change it seemed necessary to abandon so comprehensive a club program. The following statement is taken from a bulletin entitled "Clubs" published by the school before the change was made:

> The club system aims to provide for every kind of activity. For some children it is interest in wireless; for many browsing around a book shelf or collecting stamps; for others exchanging bits of camp lore; for still others excursions into the woods for birds or flowers. After three years it is difficult to conceive of a boy or girl who has not developed an enthusiasm for some hobby.
>
> Clubs are intrinsically avocational, distinct in spirit from ordinary school work. But in many instances they offer further field for explora-

tion and become vocational. More than one boy has caught a vision that revolutionized his plans for life work. Often a latent talent whose existence might never have been detected is brought to light. A lad, who intended to leave school at the end of the eighth grade, spent one term in the Landscape Gardening Club and thereupon planned for high school; another of supposedly ordinary ability, exhibited through the Pottery Club an apparent native skill in sculpturing.

Since the corner stone of the junior high school is justice for the individual, every student must be given an equal chance adapted to his abilities and aptitudes. In the club this doctrine of individual justice is emphasized. The students themselves elect a club in accordance with their own ideas, each one choosing the thing he likes best. "And no one shall work for money, and no one shall work for fame, but each for the joy of working. . . ."

School clubs in some ways resemble the informal education of old Greece where the master was one with his pupils who clustered about him in small groups and, with a common interest at heart, developed wisdom and character. The modern ideal, however, is not limited in its scope, but embraces all activities of life. On Friday morning from eleven to eleven-fifty, Washington Junior High School presents the unique picture of eighteen hundred boys and girls engaged in the pursuit of happiness, each in his own way.

According to the students' handbook of the Washington High School, which is the present name of this Rochester school:

There are and will be various clubs organized to meet hobby interests when and as such interest exists. These clubs are found in fields of the fine arts as well as the manual arts. They include various phases of collecting as of stamps, coin, geological, and botanical specimens. Handicraft clubs in many forms, study and correspondence clubs, are all possible. The only requirements to be met are that a sufficient interest be shown on the part of the pupils, a director found, and the time and place of meetings agreed upon through the director of extra-curricular activities of the school.

Koos,[1] in a summary of the general literature on extracurricular activities, gives a list of those mentioned at least twice in forty publications (mostly magazine articles) dealing with this subject. In all, 145 different organizations or activities are included in the list. Leaving out the foreign-language, historical, geographical,

[1] LEONARD V. KOOS, "Analysis of the General Literature on Extra-curricular Activities," *Extracurricular Activities*, Twenty-fifth Yearbook, National Society for the Study of Education, Part II, pp. 21–22, Bloomington, Ill.: Public School Publishing Company, 1926.

mathematical, physical and athletic, civic-social, moral, and miscellaneous organizations, we have the following activities in Koos's list, many of which have, or may have, important exploratory values:

Literary
- English clubs.
- Literary societies.
- Library clubs.
- Booklovers' clubs.
- Reading clubs.
- Mythology clubs.
- Short story clubs.

Forensic and Declamatory
- Debating societies.
- Discussion clubs.
- Storytelling clubs.
- Declamation clubs.
- Public speaking clubs.
- Oratory clubs.

Musical
- Musical organizations.
- Chorus.
- Choral clubs.
- Glee clubs.
- Boys' glee clubs.
- Girls' glee clubs.
- Orchestras.
- Bands
- Mandolin clubs.
- Instrumental clubs.
- Music clubs.
- Music appreciation clubs.

Commercial
- Commercial clubs.
- Typewriting clubs.
- Penmanship clubs.

Journalistic
- Journalism or publications.
- Editorial staffs.
- Writers' clubs.
- Press associations or clubs.
- School papers.
- Magazines.
- Annuals.

Dramatic
- Dramatic clubs.
- Plays.
- Class plays.
- Motion picture or scenario clubs.

Scientific
- Science clubs.
- Biology clubs.
- Botany clubs.
- Nature study.
- Bird clubs.
- Wildflower clubs
- Chemistry clubs.
- Electrical clubs.
- Astronomy clubs.
- Radio clubs.
- Wireless clubs.

Industrial
- Industrial arts clubs.
- Aircraft clubs.
- Agriculture clubs.
- Gardening clubs.

Home Economics
- Home-economics clubs.
- Cooking clubs.
- Luncheon activities.
- Sewing clubs.
- Millinery clubs.
- Needlecraft clubs.
- Crochet clubs.
- Embroidery clubs
- Knitting clubs.
- Laundry clubs.
- Home-nursing clubs

Arts and Crafts
- Art clubs.
- Sketch clubs.
- Poster clubs.
- Cartoon clubs.
- Illustration clubs.
- Camera clubs.
- Handicraft clubs.
- Basketry clubs.
- Pottery clubs.
- Gift clubs.

It will be seen that many of these clubs offer opportunities for exploring vocational interests and aptitudes. Possibility of changing from one club to another under certain conditions is, of course, desirable. There is, moreover, the possibility of increasing the number of clubs that appeal to vocational interests and of supplementing the actual work done with information concerning occupational opportunities.

It should be noted also that management of athletic teams, class organizations, school publications, plays, and the like afford good opportunities for exploration in the field of business.

Vocational exploration by means of part-time employment. The possibilities of vocational exploratory experiences outside the school for high school pupils have had but little attention as yet on the part of school authorities. In discussing these possibilities, it is well to note that a considerable percentage of boys and a smaller percentage of girls are engaged in some kind of employment outside school hours. Some of them work Saturdays and Sundays, while many work after three or four o'clock on school days and Saturdays as well. It should be noted, also, that a large percentage of high school boys and girls spend their summer vacations in some kind of employment, though economic conditions in recent years have greatly reduced opportunities for both part-time and summer-vacation wage earning on the part of high school youth.

With considerable numbers of boys and girls while still in school engaging to some extent in the actual work of business and industry, it is evident that very many occupational choices must be determined by these out-of-school experiences. Here is genuine exploratory work for high school pupils on a large scale. The difficulty is that part-time and vacation employment is almost wholly haphazard, undirected exploratory work. The boy who works after school or Saturdays or during summer vacations is even less concerned about what the job has in it for him, aside from wages, than is the one who is leaving school for full-time employment. What interests this pupil-worker is a job and one that pays well. It matters little to him whether the job is a good one to test his interests and aptitudes. To be sure, some of the work that is done by these pupil-workers is juvenile and has relatively little exploratory value for permanent occupations. On the other hand, much of the work affords the finest

kind of exploratory experiences. As far as exploratory values are concerned, there is little object in a boy's working at a job which he knows in advance is far removed from what he will do as a man. And very many do just this in summer vacations and out-of-school hours.

The way out of the difficulty seems to lie in some sort of school supervision of pupil employment. Instead of letting each pupil find his own job, the school, especially the senior high school, with its knowledge of the interests and aptitudes of individual pupils might attempt to place those who need out-of-school employment in jobs where valuable tests of these interests and aptitudes would be obtained, as far as this is practicable under child-labor laws and other limiting restrictions. This would be a big undertaking, to be sure, when summer employment as well as after-school employment is taken into account, but it would take advantage of a wonderful opportunity to provide the best type of vocational exploration for many high school pupils, and at the same time guard against excessive hours of employment for them while they are attending school.

An interesting illustration of part-time and summer employment for purposes of vocational exploration is reported from Radcliffe College.[1] In this case work is done without pay if part time, and with maintenance only if summer vacation work. During the college year students, as a rule, do not give more than one-half day each week to this work. A few high schools have undertaken a similar program, but this type of vocational exploration under school supervision has, as yet, hardly made a beginning.

Exploration by means of part-time vocational courses. A considerable number of school systems have established a type of vocational education program which involves part-time employment for high school pupils. This type of program, called a "cooperative" high school course or an "apprenticeship" course in diversified occupations, depending upon certain administrative arrangements, involves cooperation between school and employer. While planned in either case for vocational preparation purposes, this course provides also valuable exploratory experiences under

[1] Edith G. Stedman and Mary Manson, "Vocational Tryouts for College Students," *Occupations: The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, XII (January, 1934), 54–59.

the actual conditions of industry or business. The usual arrangement is for the pupil to spend one-half his time in school and the other half in employment at an occupation which he expects to follow permanently. Under the cooperative course the period of alternate work and school varies from one week to several weeks. In case of the diversified occupations program, one-half of each school day is usually spent in school and the other at work. In either case, the schoolwork is supposed to deal to a great extent with the theory and the related science or other matter of the occupation, and a representative of the school, called a "coordinator," has a certain amount of supervision over the employment, which is secured for the pupil by him.

While the pupil enters this type of course with his choice of occupation made, nevertheless the first few months of work serve either to confirm that choice or to convince him that he has made a mistake. If he feels that a mistake has been made or if the coordinator comes to this conclusion, the two go over the matter together and decide upon some other occupation. Such changes are quite common under this plan. Indeed, it is an important feature of the plan that these changes should be made before a long period of training has been carried on and before full-time employment is begun.

A description of the diversified occupations program in Lewiston, Mont., a town of 6,000 population, will be found in the magazine *Occupations*, for February, 1935.[1]

Limitations of occupational exploratory experiences for pupils. There are, to be sure, important limitations upon exploratory experiences provided by the school. It has already been noted that experiences of this character now offered cover a comparatively narrow range of occupations. Difficulties in the way of extending the range, either within the school or outside it, under school supervision have been noted also. It is true, moreover, that actual conditions of employment as to hours of work, necessity for production, social environment, etc., are not reproduced in the school exploratory work. On this account there are some pupils to whom the work of an exploratory course appeals who find themselves unsuited to the same work under the

[1] L. O. Brockmann, "Guidance through Doing," *Occupations: The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, XIII (February, 1935), 413–416.

actual conditions of industry or business. Then there is the difficulty of obtaining teachers who are technically well prepared to do this kind of teaching, and the further difficulty that few of those who have the technical preparation have anything like an adequate conception of the exploratory function of their work.

Many difficulties are encountered when one undertakes to provide exploratory experiences for pupils by placing them in part-time, afterschool, or vacation employment. Most junior high school pupils are too young to be placed in work that provides valuable exploratory experiences. Many employers will not be bothered with part-time or vacation workers of any age if they can help it. Even senior high school pupils find that few of the summer jobs open to them are in occupations that offer permanent attractions to them. Other limitations and difficulties might be mentioned.

Yet, notwithstanding these limitations and difficulties, exploratory experiences in the high school period such as have been discussed in this chapter already are performing a large service in assisting boys and girls in choosing occupations.

Not only have the various kinds of exploratory work discussed justified their place in the schools; they have pointed the way also to a much larger service in the future when a better understanding prevails of the high school's responsibility for providing adequate vocational exploratory opportunities to its pupils and of how this can be done more effectively. Predictions are always unsafe but present indications point to extensive developments in this type of work in the next few years.

There is nothing quite like experience in helping one decide whether or not he will like an occupation. Since the experience is sure to be more genuine if obtained under actual conditions of business or industry than if obtained in the school, it is probable that much of the development will be in exploratory experiences provided outside the school but arranged for and supervised by the school. We may expect that exploratory experiences will be supplemented more and more by tests of special aptitudes as these tests develop and are made more practicable for school use. But there seems little likelihood that special aptitude tests, important as they are likely to become, will ever take the place of exploratory experiences in a program of vocational guidance.

Self-analysis

As indicated earlier, the self-inventory service of a vocational guidance program includes provision for the individual to analyze and rate his personality assets and liabilities as well as to discover these by means of exploratory experiences. Also, as suggested earlier, self-analysis may really be considered as the effort of an individual to bring together in systematic form the facts as he sees them which have been revealed by his exploratory experiences of various kinds. These are the facts concerning his abilities, aptitudes, interests, and personality traits. It should be recognized that the exploratory experiences exercise a profound influence on one's courses of action, whether or not the self-analysis follows.

The function of the self-analysis in vocational guidance is to help the individual to see the facts more clearly, to evaluate them more accurately, and to relate them more directly to the problem of his vocational plans. While the prime concern here is with the significance of this process for vocational guidance, it should be kept in mind that self-analysis has significance also for educational, recreational, and community-service guidance. It is true, too, that a pupil's self-analysis is valuable to the counselor in interviews with that pupil as well as to the pupil directly.

Limitations of self-analysis. Several studies have been made which raise questions concerning the value of the self-analysis. Cogan, Conklin, and Hollingworth[1] found that the correlation between self-estimates of intelligence and scholastic records was consistently lower than that between intelligence test scores and scholastic records; also that "in general the error of self-estimation tends to be half again as great as the average error of the judgment of associates."

Hollingworth[2] and several other investigators report a tendency on the part of students to overrate themselves on desirable personal qualities and underrate themselves on undesirable

[1] Lucy C. Cogan, Agnes M. Conklin, and H. L. Hollingworth, "An Experimental Study of Self-analysis, Estimates of Associates, and the Results of Tests," *School and Society*, II (July 31, 1915), 171–179.

[2] H. L. Hollingworth, *Judging Human Character*, New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1922.

qualities as compared with ratings made by their associates. For example, Hollingworth found that 80 per cent of the college students included in her study rated themselves higher on refinement than their associates rated them on the same quality. On the other hand, only 36 per cent rated themselves as snobbish to a higher degree than their associates rated them snobbish. Other studies indicate that self-ratings by junior high school boys and girls are probably less accurate than those of college students. Finally, one investigator[1] concludes that some individuals overestimate themselves on all qualities and others underestimate themselves on all qualities.

In considering self-analysis it should be kept in mind that its value to the pupil directly and its value to the counselor for interviews with the pupil are two distinct things. The pupil cannot avoid forming judgments concerning himself. Self-analysis, as pointed out above, is merely a means by which this is done deliberately and in a systematic manner. In this way the pupil should obtain a better understanding of what his assets and liabilities really are than he would if the matter were left entirely to chance, particularly if he is given proper assistance in making the analysis in a way that will be most useful to him.

After all, it is not how other people rate his abilities and traits that will influence his course of action so much as it is how he rates himself. As Koos and Kefauver point out, "students are guided in their thinking and planning on their own conception of their capacities and not on those they actually possess."[2] Moreover, in any particular case the fact that teachers or fellow pupils or both rate a pupil lower in certain respects than he rates himself is not adequate proof that his rating may not be the more accurate. It seems quite probable that, as a rule, junior high school pupils will be less accurate in their self-ratings than will college students for the simple reason that their exploratory experiences have been more limited. They have not had as many opportunities to discover their capacities and limitations. This should be made clear to them when they are asked to rate themselves.

[1] EUGENE SHEN, "The Validity of Self-estimate," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, XVI (February, 1925), 104–107.

[2] LEONARD V. KOOS and GRAYSON N. KEFAUVER, *Guidance in Secondary Schools*, p. 232, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932.

From the point of view of the counselor the mere fact that a pupil's rating of himself is higher or lower than his ratings by others is significant. The counselor thus has an additional item of information concerning the personality of that particular pupil which will be useful in the counseling interview. However, the counselor will always find it wise to remember that a self-rating is a subjective judgment whose reliability is dependent to a considerable degree upon the maturity and experiences of the one who makes it. It must be kept in mind also that self-ratings furnish only a limited part of the evidence which must be taken into account. Other needed evidence will be considered in the following chapters.

Self-analysis a stimulus to the pupil. Another value of pupil self-analysis that is often stressed is that it stimulates the pupil to self-improvement. Finding it necessary to rate himself on various qualities, he is brought face to face with his weaknesses, often with the result that he takes immediate steps to overcome them or, at least, to reduce them. However, there are some sensitive individuals who are discouraged and disheartened rather than stimulated by this experience.

Self-analysis blanks. Numerous blanks or forms for use in self-rating have been devised. Among the more complete is that prepared by the Boys' Work Division of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association, an organization that has been active in vocational guidance for many years. The blank is too long to be presented here but the introductory statement and Section B will give an idea of its nature.

SELF-ANALYSIS BLANK FOR PURPOSES OF VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE DESIGNED FOR USE BY OLDER BOYS UNDER DIRECTION OF ADULT LEADERS

The purpose of this blank is to help older boys and young men locate their natural interests and capacities, particularly those which tend to show vocational tendencies.

Do not hurry. Selecting one's vocation is serious business.

Be thoroughly honest. Your own particular abilities are what you are seeking to discover.

Let your answers indicate your present interests and ambitions for the future.

Ask questions of your leader if in doubt at any point.

Section B. Personal Characteristics

1. Am I independent and self-reliant; do I like best to lead (in work, games, groups, or "stunts") or am I happier when another leads and I follow and help?

Think it over like this—

Would I rather be captain, the directing head?... ....

Or, would I just as soon have some leadership but not too much responsibility? . . ..

Or, would I much rather do the actual work myself (as mechanic, farm worker, salesman, artist) and let someone else do the directing and the worrying? .. . .

2. Am I a team man; can I cooperate? ....

3. Do I take particular delight in discovering my own way to do things?

. .. .

4. Am I naturally obedient, following instructions readily?... ... .

Or, do I like pretty much to rely on my own judgment?.. ....

5 Is it difficult to make my mind stick to a particular thing at a particular time? . ...

6. Do I make a strong finish?..........or quit rather easily?.. ..

. . . .

7 Is it easy and interesting for me to make new friends?...... . ...

Or, do I enjoy more old friends and acquaintances? ... .

8. As a rule, am I happier when I am with other people? .. . . ..

Or, When I am alone? ....

9. Can I get along with most people?..... . .... What sort of person annoys me most? ... .

10 Thinking it over carefully, would I rate myself as extra good, fair, or poor on the following matters:

(Note: Put a check (✓) under Extra Good, Fair or Poor for each quality in the list.)

	Extra good	Fair	Poor
Enthusiasm (full of earnestness or zeal). .	...	.	...
Carefulness (conscientious attention to details)	.	. .	.
Punctuality (being on time)...	...	.	....
Honesty (acting on the square, not somewhat lax)	.	. .	.
Energy (having drive and punch).	...	..	.
Thrift (saving; not being an easy spender)...	.		. .
Hopefulness (cheerful rather than gloomy) .	. .	.	.
Self-confidence (not overdependent on others)	..	. .	.

11. (a) Have you any habits which you feel might keep you from the largest success in life? ....

(b) Would you like help or suggestions about avoiding or overcoming certain habits or temptations?.................. ....

Brewer and Lincoln devised the score card shown on page 160, which provides for self-rating in comparison with the require-

A Score Card for the Occupation and Yourself*

(A Comparison of the Needs of the Occupation with Your Ability)

Name........ . .. . .Date............ ..
Qualities required for success in the occupation of ... .
and the qualities I can develop in that occupation.

Directions: This exercise is planned to aid you in thinking about your future occupation. The first column relates to the qualities demanded by the vocation; the second, to the qualities you can develop if you choose to enter that occupation. At the bottom are spaces for additional qualities required. Mark an X in the appropriate column: 60, very little, 70, not very much; 80, average amount; 90, above average, 100, very great amount.

	Vocation needs					I can develop				
	60	70	80	90	100	60	70	80	90	100
1. Ability to attend to details										
2. Ability to cooperate; tact										
3. Ability to follow directions										
4. Ability to lead other people										
5. Ability to use good English										
6. Accuracy										
7. Adaptability to change and surprise										
8. Cheerfulness										
9. Common sense; good judgment										
10. Courage										
11. Courtesy										
12. Earnestness										
13. Ideals of good citizenship										
14. Ideals of honesty										
15. Ideals of service and unselfishness										
16. Imagination; foresight; planning										
17. Initiative; resourcefulness										
18. Liking for work indoors; † outdoors										
19 Liking for sameness; † variety										
20. Mechanical skill										
21. Mental ability and capacity										
22. Orderliness; system; neatness										
23. Perseverance; industry										
24. Physical strength; health, vigor										
25. Promptness; punctuality										
26. Responsibility; trustworthiness										
27. Self-control; patience										
28. Sense of humor										
29. Speed of work										
30. Sympathy										

* John M Brewer and Mildred E. Lincoln, reproduced by courtesy of the C. H. Stoelting Company, Chicago, Ill.

† Cancel the quality not required by the vocation.

ments of an occupation. However, this score card calls for an estimate of the degree to which the individual who fills it out can develop each of the various qualities on the list, rather than for his estimate of the degree to which he possesses them at the time. Jones[1] suggests the desirability of adding another column to the card with the heading "What I Have Now."

A "Questionnaire for Self-analysis" containing 50 questions, some of a general nature, will be found in Rosengarten's book entitled *Choosing Your Life Work.*[2] Myers, Little, and Robinson's book for high school students, *Planning Your Future,*[3] contains a self-rating chart comprising 21 characteristics on which the pupil is asked to rate himself very poor, poor, fair, good, or excellent.

Making self-analysis more valuable for vocational guidance purposes. While recognizing its limitations, most authorities are agreed that self-analysis is an important part of a comprehensive program of vocational guidance. Koos and Kefauver sum up the matter in these words:

> Self-ratings are important in a program of guidance. They supplement other sources of information about the student. They indicate the nature of the student's judgment concerning himself, a judgment that is a primary factor in the selection of types of education and of vocations. To be sure, they cannot be accepted as correct estimates.[4]

There are some, however, who would discourage the use of self-analysis, on the ground that the information gathered in this way is unreliable. For the most part these are thinking of the value of this material to the counselor rather than in terms of the value of self-analysis to the pupil himself. In fact, this point of view is implied in the comment just quoted from Koos and Kefauver. Viewed as a means of helping the pupil to bring together the results of his exploratory experiences of all sorts in an effort better to understand himself, it has far greater value

[1] ARTHUR J. JONES, *Principles of Guidance,* 2d ed., p. 185, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1934.

[2] WILLIAM ROSENGARTEN, *Choosing Your Life Work,* 3d ed , pp. 34–36, New York: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1936.

[3] GEORGE E. MYERS, GLADYS M. LITTLE, and SARAH A. ROBINSON, *Planning Your Future,* p. 412, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1940.

[4] KOOS and KEFAUVER, *op. cit.,* p. 236.

than as an aid to the counselor. Instead of discouraging the use of self-analysis, guidance workers should seek by every possible means to improve its techniques, to the end that the individual's self-ratings become more accurate, and by providing for more extensive study and use of the results by the pupils themselves. There can be little doubt that with a proper understanding on the part of the pupil of its purposes, with a proper setting or "atmosphere" when the blank is filled out, and with a better knowledge of ways to use the information recorded, the self-analysis will become of greater value to the pupil directly, and also indirectly through its use by the counselor.

Summary

The function of the self-inventory service of a vocational guidance program is to give the individual an awareness of his personal assets and liabilities. Exploratory experiences and self-analysis are the principal means used by the schools in accomplishing this purpose. Counseling, which will be discussed in a separate chapter, also contributes to this end. While both exploratory experiences and self-analysis also furnish the school staff with valuable information for vocational guidance purposes their great importance lies in their direct value to the pupils themselves.

Authorities on the junior high school are agreed that exploration by the pupil of his individual tastes, interests, capacities, and other personal characteristics is one of the most important functions of this school. The senior high school, junior college, and even higher educational institutions also serve this purpose but in none of them is it so dominant as in the junior high school.

Certain groups of subjects especially in the junior high school —agricultural, business, homemaking, and industrial arts—are often referred to as tryout or exploratory subjects. The extent to which they are offered and their real value as exploratory experiences differ greatly in different schools. Many teachers of these subjects never think of their work in terms of its value to their pupils in discovering and trying out their aptitudes and interests. It is true, also, that the number of specific occupations for which exploratory courses are provided in junior and senior high school combined is relatively small. In general, however, this objection is not very significant since such courses explore

the more important occupations in which large numbers of people are employed. Courses offered for exploratory purposes will no doubt be far more effective when those who teach them feel keenly the responsibility for helping pupils discover their personal assets and liabilities, when a larger number of elements from the occupations for which the course is exploratory are introduced, and when methods of instruction are used which take account more fully of conditions and practices in the occupations concerned. And the general education values of the course also may be increased by these means. Thus far no satisfactory method of measuring the value of these courses for vocational exploratory purposes has yet been devised, desirable as this would be.

To be sure, all subjects taught in secondary schools serve a vocational exploratory purpose to a greater or less extent. It is desirable that this be more fully appreciated by school people and steps taken to enhance the exploratory values of the entire group of subjects included in the program of studies.

While the activities program is already an important means of exploring vocational interests and aptitudes, its value for this purpose may be greatly increased by careful planning to this end.

Efforts to use part-time, afterschool, and vacation employment for occupational exploratory purposes have met with some success. The fact that this method provides the exploration under actual working conditions makes it peculiarly valuable. But age and other restrictions on employment of youth are a limiting factor.

Notwithstanding their limitations, occupational exploratory experiences provided by means of school courses, extracurricular activities, and part-time employment seem destined to play a more important part in vocational guidance for the reason that no other means of finding out one's suitability for an occupation is so effective as is doing the things of the occupation.

Self-analysis may be considered as an effort to bring together in systematic form the facts one has learned concerning himself by means of various exploratory experiences. Self-analysis is intended to help the individual to see these facts more clearly, to evaluate them more accurately, and to relate them more directly to his vocational plans. While it has important limitations, when a properly prepared blank or form is used and the matter is

wisely presented to youth, self-analysis is an important technique of vocational guidance. Often, also, it stimulates the individual to efforts in the direction of self-improvement, since it brings him face to face with his weaknesses. It is desirable that efforts be made by guidance workers to obtain more accurate and dependable self-analyses rather than to ignore this guidance technique.

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CHAPTER X

THE PERSONAL DATA COLLECTING SERVICE GENERAL DATA, PHYSICAL DATA, INTELLIGENCE RATINGS

In the two preceding chapters attention has been given to services provided by the school for the purpose of helping the individual student to acquire information concerning occupations and concerning his own assets and liabilities. The objective of these two services is to supply the individual with basic data that should be helpful to him in arriving at an occupational choice. It hardly need be said that similar data concerning school, recreational, and community-service opportunities and requirements, and the same data concerning himself are necessary if the individual is to make wise educational, recreational, and community-service plans. And, it may be remarked in passing, assistance in making these plans should not be overlooked just because emphasis is placed on vocational plans. In fact, the latter cannot be worked out successfully independently of educational, recreational, and community-service plans.

Attention must now be turned to the equally important service of supplying the school with data concerning the individual student for use in the vocational counseling, placement, and follow-up services which will be considered in later chapters. Here, as in the previous chapter, individual differences are fundamental. Again it should be kept in mind that the data under discussion are basic for guidance services in other fields as well as in the vocational.

Kinds of personal data needed. What does the vocational counselor need to know concerning the individual whom he undertakes to assist in the difficult task of choosing a suitable vocation? Writers on the subject are generally agreed that provision should be made for bringing together the following types of data for use in counseling and also in placement and follow-up work:

1. General data—information that will be helpful in locating the individual and in making contacts with those who have responsibility for him.

2. Physical data—information concerning the individual's health and physical characteristics.

3. Psychological data—information concerning the individual's mental characteristics such as intelligence, special aptitudes and limitations, and personality traits.

4. Social environment data—information concerning home and other social environment conditions and factors that influence or seem likely to influence the individual in his vocational plans.

5. Achievement data—information concerning what the individual has done both in school and outside of it.

6. Data concerning the individual's educational and vocational plans.

Completeness of needed data. Obviously any one of the six items in the above list may be dealt with in general terms or in great detail. The picture presented may be impressionistic in character or as detailed as a Corot. However, in actual practice there is no object in bringing together more information concerning any item in the list than seems likely to be used. Much criticism has been leveled, and justly, at wasting the time of teachers and others in piling up data that are never used. Provision for use of the data gathered must, therefore, determine the completeness of the record.

If a well-planned counseling program is in effect, or is soon to be in effect, with an adequate staff of counselors who have the knowledge and the skill and the will to use such material effectively, then fairly complete data are desirable. If, on the other hand, the counseling setup is weak, it is usually wasteful to provide such a well-selected kit of high grade tools as make up a good system of personal data records for use in the counseling service. In any given situation the person responsible for the vocational guidance program, in conference with his superior officers and with his fellow teachers in the school system, should determine just what parts of the data discussed in this chapter are needed. It is understood, of course, that some of the data thus assembled will be used in other parts of the school program as well as in vocational guidance.

General Data

A limited amount of general information concerning every pupil is, of course, necessary. Its purpose is to facilitate contacts with the pupil and with those who are most directly concerned with his welfare. The information needed includes the pupil's name, street address, and telephone number, the name of parent or guardian, and of home-room teacher or other school sponsor. His school program for the current semester, giving the room in which he may be found at any school period of the week is, also, an important part of the general data needed.

Physical Data

Of course, the race, sex, and date of birth—year, month, and day of the month—are the first items that claim attention. Height and weight, when considered in relation to physical maturity, are important as indicating fitness or unfitness for certain types of occupations. Physical handicaps, if any, should be considered, including hearing (percentage of normal for each ear); sight (percentage of normal and nature of correction made for the defect); color blindness; deformity of limbs or body (nature and extent of defect). Other items of information needed include condition of heart; condition of lungs; condition of nervous system; past sicknesses (nature of, when, how serious). A photograph of the individual is considered desirable by some as an aid in recalling his personality characteristics when consulting his records. This is particularly valuable in connection with the placement service, but is often useful also to a counselor in preparing for a counseling interview.

While their immediate value in vocational counseling seems to be negligible, it is quite possible that fingerprints may be added to the physical data recorded in the school for use in connection with placement and for other purposes.

Because changes in some of the physical data listed above may be considerable in an individual during the six years that make up the secondary school period, it is, of course, necessary that the record be brought up to date from time to time and the time of recording be given. The same is true, to a lesser extent, after the individual passes beyond the high school period.

Psychological Data

It has already been noted that the psychological data needed for vocational guidance purposes are of three different kinds—data concerning the individual's intelligence, his special aptitudes, and his personality traits. It seems best to consider each kind separately, beginning with data concerning intelligence.

Nature of intelligence. While in recent years the term "intelligence" has been used extensively in the literature of education, it is not always clear just what the person who uses it means by the term. Some writers seem to assume that their readers will understand what is meant while others apparently have themselves only a very hazy concept of the term. This is not surprising when one considers the state of mind on this matter among well-known psychologists. Witty points out that "during the period of rapid increase in the number of instruments for the measurement of intelligence, few persons sought an answer to the question: What is intelligence? Most mental testers blithely tested intelligence without seriously inquiring about that which they were trying to measure."[1]

Hines starts his discussion of the nature of intelligence with the statement: "No one knows precisely what intelligence is."[2] Of course, the same might be said of electricity. However, notwithstanding the difficulties involved in the undertaking, the author of this book feels under obligations to his readers to present briefly certain points of view expressed by psychologists concerning the nature of this elusive human characteristic. Readers must have some idea of the sense in which the term is used if they are to understand the author's discussion of intelligence testing in relation to vocational guidance.

Terman, whose contribution to the development of intelligence tests is as important as that of any other American psychologist, says: "An individual is intelligent in proportion as he is able to carry on abstract thinking."[3]

[1] Paul O. Witty, "Intelligence: Its Nature, Development, and Measurement," in *Educational Psychology*, by Charles E. Skinner and associates, p. 438, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1936.

[2] Harlan Cameron Hines, *Measuring Intelligence*, p. 1, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1923.

[3] L. M. Terman, "Intelligence and Its Measurement," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, XII (March, 1921), 128.

Van Wagenen treats intelligence as "capacity to learn and to adjust to relatively new and changing conditions."[1]

Freeman expresses much the same idea as Van Wagenen when he says: "Intelligence is represented in behavior by the capacity of the individual to adjust himself to new situations, to solve new problems, to learn."[2]

Boynton defines intelligence as "an inherited capacity of the individual which is manifested through his ability to adapt to and reconstruct the factors of his environment in accordance with the most fundamental needs of himself and his group."[3] He stresses the inherited character of intelligence further when he says:

> It seems that intelligence should be restricted solely to those characteristics which are heritable; it should be made entirely independent of the amount of knowledge which a person has. Thus intellect is seen to be a more inclusive term, incorporating not only the idea of inherited capacity, but also the idea of acquired ability or knowledge.[4]

Spearman has presented what is called the "two-factor theory" of intelligence, one factor being general and the other specific.[5]

Thorndike at one time considered it desirable to recognize three kinds of intelligence; namely, abstract, mechanical, and social,[6] the first of the three being defined much as Freeman defines intelligence.

Thurstone has recently stressed what is called the "factorial analysis" theory which recognizes intelligence as consisting of several abilities, seven of which have thus far been identified. (1) number facility, (2) word fluency, (3) visualizing, (4) memory,

[1] M. J. Van Wagenen, "Intelligence and Its Measurement," in *Readings in Educational Psychology*, by Charles Skinner and associates, p. 401, New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1937.

[2] Frank N. Freeman, *Mental Tests*, pp. 489–491, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1926.

[3] Paul L. Boynton, *Intelligence: Its Manifestations and Measurements*, pp. 19–20, New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1933.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[5] Charles S. Spearman, *The Nature of Intelligence and the Principles of Cognition*, pp. 5–6, 341–343, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927.

[6] Witty, *op. cit.*, p. 439.

(5) perceptual speed, (6) induction, and (7) verbal reasoning.[1] He implies that others may be added to the list as the result of later and more thorough analysis.

Examination of these definitions indicates a rather surprising amount of agreement as to the nature of intelligence. Some prefer to break it up into its elements rather than to treat it as a unit. Some stress more than others the idea that it is inherited —a native capacity. Careful reading of the various authorities quoted would reveal differences of opinion concerning the modifiability of intelligence under the influences of environment. But through all of the concepts of the term presented there appears the idea so well phrased by Freeman: "capacity of the individual to adjust himself to new situations, to solve new problems, to learn."[2]

While psychologists are agreed that it is quite impossible at any point in an individual's life to make a clear-cut distinction between his native capacity "to adjust himself to new situations, to solve new problems, to learn" and the effects of general environment and formal education upon that capacity, nevertheless it has long been recognized both by psychologists and by laymen that there are important differences among individuals in such native capacity. In this respect human beings are not born equal. They range from the helpless idiot on the one hand to the most brilliant all-round genius on the other. These two appear at birth to be equally helpless. One, lacking in that native capacity, remains helpless as long as he lives, in spite of the most favorable environment. The other, rich in this same native capacity, develops rapidly under the influences of environment until he is able to take at full stride life's most difficult situations. There is ample evidence to indicate that human beings as a whole are distributed between these two extremes of native capacity in accordance with the normal curve of distribution.

Even those who insist most strongly that an important part of an individual's intelligence as defined by Freeman is the result of environmental influences are ready to grant that by far the larger part is inherited. According to a summary of the scientific evidence on this point made by Burks, about 17 per cent of the

[1] L. L. Thurstone, "A New Conception of Intelligence," *Educational Record*, XVII (July, 1936), 441–450.

[2] Freeman, *op. cit.*

differences in intelligence among individuals is due to differences in home environment, though "home environment in rare, extreme cases may account for as much as 20 points of increment above the expected, or congenital, level."[1] While Wellman and Stoddard maintain that their recent studies "reveal large changes in I.Q. in both upward and downward directions,"[2] due to changes in environment, they indicate that the favorable period for such changes in I.Q. is early childhood. This means that at the high school age an individual's intelligence is relatively stable—that its modifiability is limited rather narrowly. Bingham concludes that, according to the evidence now available, there is about 1 chance in 22 that during a four-year high school period an I.Q. will increase or decrease as much as 12 per cent.[3]

School attainment as a measure of intelligence. In this connection it should be kept in mind that school attainment by the pupil long was the only generally accepted measure, and still is an important measure, of that pupil's intelligence. It must be recognized that, taking pupils as a whole, school attainment has proved a fair test of this quality. Those who pass from grade to grade with little or no difficulty until they graduate from high school, taken as a group, are undoubtedly superior in intelligence to the group consisting of those who drop out before reaching the goal of graduation. The school is a selective agency which sifts out individuals of low intelligence. Many employers recognize this and insist upon employing only high school graduates, not so much because of the superior training of these but because they have gone through a selective process which has tested their intelligence and certain other qualities that the employer considers important.

But the school functions far from perfectly as a sieve of intelligence. A considerable number of very capable boys and girls find their way in some manner through its meshes, while others of very mediocre ability stay in throughout the high

[1] Barbara S. Burks, *Nature and Nurture: Their Influence upon Intelligence,* Twenty-seventh Yearbook, National Society for the Study of Education, Part I, Chap. X, p. 223, Bloomington, Ill.: Public School Publishing Company, 1928.

[2] Beth L. Wellman and George D. Stoddard, "The IQ: A Problem in Social Construction," *The Social Frontier*, V (February, 1939), 151.

[3] Walter Van Dyke Bingham, *Aptitudes and Aptitude Testing,* p. 40, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1937.

school period. Besides, in counseling, one does not know generally which pupils will remain through high school and which will drop out at the various stages along the way. The counselor has to deal with differences in intelligence among those who are in school at any given time. Moreover, among those who graduate or reach any other particular level of attainment, there are striking differences in the quality of work done and equally striking differences in marks or grades received for work which is substantially of the same quality.

It is a well-known fact that a pupil's marks in school subjects do not always indicate his ability to meet even the situations presented to him by those subjects, to say nothing of life situations generally. It is highly desirable, therefore, that for vocational guidance purposes the school attainment of pupils both with respect to the grade level reached at a given age and with respect to the quality of work done as shown by school marks received, should be supplemented by a more accurate and less subjective measure of intelligence.

The nature and purpose of intelligence tests. In order to provide a means of measuring more accurately and more quickly than by achievement in school subjects what he chose to call the "general intelligence" of children, Alfred Binet, a French psychologist, devised and presented to the world a little more than 30 years ago a measuring instrument of general intelligence. These tests were further developed with the assistance of an associate, Simon, and became known as the Binet-Simon tests. They were adapted to use in America by Lewis M. Terman of Stanford University, under the name "Stanford Revision of the Binet-Simon Tests of General Intelligence."

It is necessary that each child who takes the Binet-Simon tests, either in the original form or as revised by Terman, does so individually. The tests consist of a variety of questions to be answered and things to be done, mainly the latter, based upon the environmental experiences of child life and graded according to age. The tests seek to measure not primarily knowledge but ability to use knowledge readily in meeting situations. It is assumed that the child in a given group who meets most successfully, age considered, the carefully selected situations provided by the tests is the most intelligent, and the child who meets these situations least successfully is the least intelligent of the group.

By giving the tests to a large number of children of different ages from different social environments, norms were established for each age. After these norms were established it became possible to give the tests to a child of given age and compare his test score with the norm for that age. If the score is greater than the norm the child is rated as above average in intelligence; if less than the norm, he is rated as below average in intelligence. Thus it becomes possible to determine the "mental age" of a child, this being greater than his chronological age if he is above average, and less than his chronological age if below average in intelligence. For example, a twelve-year-old child whose rating is 10 per cent above the norm for twelve years is considered as having a mental age 10 per cent above his chronological age, or thirteen and two-tenths years.

The term "intelligence quotient" (I.Q.) was adopted to indicate the result obtained by dividing the mental age by the chronological age and multiplying the result by 100. The twelve-year-old child just mentioned would thus have an I.Q. of 110. Were his rating the same as the norm for twelve-year olds his mental age would be the same as his chronological age and his I.Q. would then be exactly 100. Thus, once the validity and reliability of tests of this kind are accepted and the tests are scored properly, there becomes available a means of comparing the intelligence of individuals just as it has long been possible to compare their height or weight. To put the matter differently, it becomes possible to tell how tall an individual is in the matter of intelligence.

Group tests of intelligence. Soon after the Stanford Revision of the Binet-Simon Tests was presented to the public it became evident that testing individuals one at a time was too slow for practical purposes if intelligence-tests results were to have extensive use. Therefore, psychologists devised tests, observing the same general principles as those governing the development and use of individual tests, that could be given to a large group at one time. The Army Alpha and Beta tests, developed during the First World War for use in testing army personnel, constitute an outstanding illustration of this effort. The Terman Group Test and the Otis Self-Administering Test are other well-known illustrations.

Accuracy and reliability of intelligence tests. When the complex nature of the thing to be measured, the newness of the

effort to provide a suitable measuring instrument, and the carelessness and inexperience of many who have attempted to use this instrument are considered, it is not surprising that there is still much popular skepticism concerning the accuracy and reliability of these tests. To be sure, no one claims for them that they can be applied to any human mind with the accuracy attained in linear measure. In fact, it is generally agreed that results obtained from their use should be looked upon as approximate rather than as accurate measures. But anyone who investigates the matter in a thorough, scientific manner must grant that a well-chosen intelligence test properly administered and scored is a better measure of abstract intelligence than school records or anything else yet devised, and that such a test has the great advantage of requiring only a brief time to obtain the result. In this connection it is well to remember that as simple an instrument of measurement as the yardstick required decades of time and even a royal decree to bring it general acceptance as a standard of measure. And centuries more passed before linear measure attained that degree of accuracy required in industry today which is represented by the Johansen blocks, accurate to a millionth of an inch.

Terman's results. More than 20 years ago Terman found, as a result of giving the Stanford Revision of the Binet-Simon Intelligence Tests to 1,000 children selected at random, that their intelligence quotients were distributed as follows:

The lowest 1% go to 70 or below; the highest 1% reach 130 or above.
The lowest 2% go to 73 or below; the highest 2% reach 128 or above.
The lowest 3% go to 76 or below; the highest 3% reach 125 or above.
The lowest 5% go to 78 or below; the highest 5% reach 122 or above.
The lowest 10% go to 85 or below; the highest 10% reach 116 or above.
The lowest 15% go to 88 or below; the highest 15% reach 113 or above.
The lowest 20% go to 91 or below; the highest 20% reach 110 or above.
The lowest 25% go to 92 or below; the highest 25% reach 108 or above.
The lowest 33⅓% go to 95 or below; the highest 33⅓% reach 106 or above.[1]

Making allowance for the fact that boundary lines between the groups mentioned below are arbitrary, Terman suggested the following classification of intelligence quotients:

[1] L. M. TERMAN, *The Measurement of Intelligence*, pp. 78–79, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916.

I.Q.	Classification
Above 140	"Near" genius or genius
120–140	Very superior intelligence
110–120	Superior intelligence
90–110	Normal or average intelligence
80–90	Dullness rarely classifiable as feeble-mindedness
70–80	Border line deficiency, sometimes classifiable as dullness, often as feeble-mindedness
Below 70	Definite feeble-mindedness*

* L. M. TERMAN, The Measurement of Intelligence, pp. 78–79, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916.

By comparing these two tables it will be seen that, according to Terman, approximately 20 per cent have superior intelligence or better, 60 per cent have approximately average or normal intelligence, and 20 per cent fall below normal in the dull and feeble-minded groups. These results of Terman's early investigations are not greatly modified by his later researches which culminated in a recent revision of his tests.[1]

Army intelligence tests results. A very similar classification resulted from giving the Army tests of intelligence to 1,700,000 draft soldiers during the First World War as will be seen from the following familiar table:

DISTRIBUTION OF INTELLIGENCE AS SHOWN BY THE ARMY INTELLIGENCE TESTS*

Intelligence grade	Definition	Score	Approximate per cent
A	Very superior	135–212	4.5
B	Superior	105–134	9.0
C+	High average	75–104	16.5
C	Average	45–74	25.0
C−	Low average	25–44	20.0
D	Inferior	15–24	15.0
D− and E	Very inferior	0–14	10.0

* From C. S. YOAKUM and ROBERT M. YERKES, *Army Mental Tests*, p. 17, New York: Henry Holt & Company, Inc., 1920.

In discussing these letter ratings, Yoakum and Yerkes go on to say:

A = Very superior intelligence. This grade is ordinarily earned by only four or five per cent of a draft quota. The "A" group is composed

[1] L. M. TERMAN and MAUD A. MERRILL, *Measuring Intelligence*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1938.

of men of marked intellectuality. "A" men are of high officer type when they are also endowed with leadership and other necessary qualities.

B = Superior intelligence. "B" intelligence is superior, but less exceptional than that represented by "A." The rating "B" is obtained by eight to ten soldiers out of a hundred. The group contains many men of the commissioned officer type and a large amount of noncommissioned officer material.

C+ = High average intelligence. This group includes fifteen to eighteen per cent of all soldiers and contains a large amount of noncommissioned officer material with occasionally a man whose leadership and power to command fit him for commissioned rank.

C = Average intelligence. It includes about twenty-five per cent of the soldiers. Excellent private type with a certain amount of fair noncommissioned officer material.

C− = Low average intelligence. This group includes about twenty per cent. Although below average in intelligence, "C−" men are usually good privates and satisfactory in work of a routine nature.

D = Inferior intelligence. It includes about fifteen per cent of soldiers. "D" men are likely to be fair soldiers, but they are usually slow in learning and rarely go above the rank of private. They are short on initiative and so require more than the usual amount of supervision. Many of them are illiterate or foreign.

D− and E = Very inferior intelligence. This group is divided into two classes: (1) "D−" men, who are very inferior in intelligence but are considered fit for regular service; and (2) "E" men, those whose mental inferiority justifies their recommendation for development battalion, special service organization, rejection, or discharge. The majority of "D−" and "E" men are below ten years in "mental age."[1]

Intelligence ratings and school expectancy. Since this chapter is concerned with collecting data for use by the school in its vocational guidance activities, the significance of an individual pupil's intelligence rating for this purpose claims attention. How is this rating of value, for example, in counseling a high school boy or girl concerning vocational plans? It is clear from the data already presented, namely, those obtained by Terman from individual tests and by the Committee on the Classification of Personnel in the Army from group tests—data supported and substantiated by the results of tests given more recently to hundreds of thousands of school children—that a pupil's intelli-

[1] C. S. Yoakum and Robert M. Yerkes, *Army Mental Tests*, pp. 22–23, New York: Henry Holt & Company, Inc., 1920.

gence rating must have an important relation to the amount of schooling which it is practicable for him to undertake. Both Terman and Yoakum and Yerkes made pertinent comments on this point several years ago.

Terman said: "Those testing 80 to 90 (I.Q.) will usually be able to reach the eighth grade, but ordinarily only after from one to three or four failures."[1] Referring to those whose I.Q.'s are 90 to 100, he said:

> The high school does not fit their grade of intelligence as well as the elementary and grammar schools. High schools probably enroll a disproportionate number of pupils in the I.Q. range above 100. That is, the average intelligence among high school pupils is above the average for the population in general. It is probably not far from 110. College students are, of course, a still more selected group, perhaps coming chiefly from the range above 115.[1]

It will be recalled that according to Terman about 20 per cent have an I.Q. of 90 or less and about 80 per cent have an I.Q. of 110 or less.

In discussing the same point in terms of the Army Alpha Test, Yoakum and Yerkes put it this way:

> The immense contrast between "A" and "D−" intelligence is shown by the fact that men of "A" intelligence have the ability to make a superior record in college or university, while "D−" men are of such inferior mentality that they are rarely able to go beyond the third or fourth grade of the elementary school, however long they attend. In fact, many "D−" and "E" men are of the moron grade of feeble-mindedness. "B" intelligence is capable of making an average record in college. "C+" intelligence cannot do so well, while mentality of the "C" grade is rarely capable of finishing a high school course.[2]

The conclusions expressed by Terman and by Yoakum and Yerkes are substantiated by later investigations. In an unpublished study of the general intelligence of pupils who completed different grades, made by the Department of Special Education of the Detroit school system, results given in the following table were obtained. The tests used were the Detroit Alpha Intelligence Tests, a modification of the Army Alpha Test. The table presents results obtained in January, 1926, from 2,469 pupils who

[1] Terman, *op. cit.*, pp. 93–94.
[2] Yoakum and Yerkes, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

then completed the sixth grade, 2,198 who completed the eighth grade in eight-grade elementary schools, 610 who completed the ninth grade in three intermediate or junior high schools, and 1,085 who completed the twelfth grade.

INTELLIGENCE RATINGS OF PUPILS COMPLETING CERTAIN GRADES

Number of cases	Grade completed	Per cent making each score						
		A	B	C+	C	C−	D	E
2,469	6th	11	13	16	23	15	11	11
2,198	8th	16	15	19	23	14	9	4
610	9th	23	22	20	20	9	4	2
1,085	12th	48	31	15	5	1		

It will be noted that of those completing the sixth grade 40 per cent were above the average C; of those completing the eighth grade, 50 per cent; of those completing the ninth grade, 65 per cent; and of those completing the twelfth grade, 94 per cent. While these percentages would probably be different under the changed conditions of 1940, the higher grades would still show decidedly larger percentages of pupils above the score of C than would the lower grades.

Proctor's report upon 131 pupils who entered high school and stayed long enough to make any scholastic record shows that 101 graduated, of whom 65 were very superior, superior, or above average in intelligence as measured by the Stanford Revision of the Binet-Simon individual tests. Of the remainder, 27 were average and 9 below average.[1]

It is, then, possible to predict from an individual's intelligence rating about how far he is likely to be able to go with his school and college education. This does not mean that he will go this far. He may lack the necessary "drive" or the financial means or the proper encouragement. It means only that he has the intelligence needed in order to go this far. Nor does it mean that all with lower intelligence will be unable to reach this same level. Some individuals, superior in other respects but relatively low in intelligence, will go farther in their schooling than could be predicted on the basis of their intelligence ratings only. How-

[1] WILLIAM MARTIN PROCTOR, *Educational and Vocational Guidance*, p. 31, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925.

ever, it can be said with assurance that in the former case the chances are much more favorable than in the latter for completion of a certain level of educational achievement, such as graduation from high school or college. Since entrance upon many vocations, especially in the professional field, depends upon extensive special preparation and the special preparation can be undertaken only by those who are high school graduates or college graduates, as the case may be, then the individual's intelligence rating is of great significance to the counselor who is helping him to decide upon the vocation for which he should prepare. For example, if his intelligence is only average, his chances of being able to meet the entrance requirements of a medical school are almost negligible, to say nothing of his chances for graduation in medicine and admission to practice of the profession later. Yet it was found in a recent unpublished study of occupational choices in relation to intelligence ratings that 51.5 per cent of intermediate or junior high school boys who aspired to the professions have intelligence ratings of C+ or lower by the Detroit Alpha tests.

Since there is a growing tendency to set up hurdles of general education and to raise them from time to time, not only for admission to preparation for professional occupations but in some cases for admission to lower level occupations, there is growing need that ability to leap such hurdles be considered in giving vocational counsel. If high school graduation should become a requirement for entrance upon apprenticeship in the various skilled trades, then ability to graduate from high school as indicated by intelligence rating must be considered in counseling concerning such work unless high school graduation requirements are modified to meet the situation.

Intelligence requirements for different occupations. Not only are certain limitations placed by one's intelligence upon his chances to prepare for, and in some cases to enter, certain occupations. Much more important for one's vocational success is the fact that vocations differ a great deal with respect to the intelligence possessed, as measured by intelligence tests, by the great majority of those who work with efficiency and satisfaction in them. Physicians as a group rate high in intelligence. Laborers as a group rate low. In fact, there is evidence that occupations can be classified, somewhat roughly to be sure, according to the

median intelligence of those who work at them. It is obvious that in so far as occupations can be thus classified, the intelligence of individuals becomes of importance in guidance work.

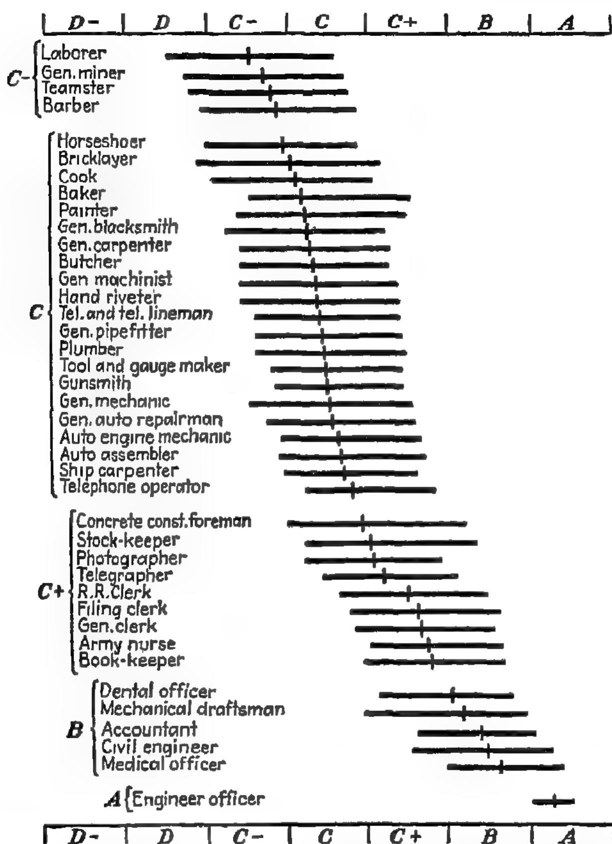


CHART 1.—OCCUPATIONAL INTELLIGENCE STANDARDS.

Based on data for 18,423 men. Data taken from soldiers' classification cards. Length of bars shows range of middle 50 per cent. Vertical crossbar shows position of median. (*From Yoakum and Yerkes, Army Mental Tests*, p. 198, *New York: Henry Holt & Company, Inc.*, 1920.)

Attention must, therefore, be given to the question of intelligence ratings of workers in different occupations.

The chart on this page shows the relation of intelligence to occupation as reported by Yoakum and Yerkes on the basis of a study of 18,423 men in the army during the First World War.

The information concerning the occupations of these men was taken from their classification cards. The authors point out that the data are not comparable with those which would be obtained from civilian groups because of various selectional factors which appear in the army. For instance, many highly skilled workers in certain trades were exempted from military service in order to work on the production of arms and munitions of war. Nevertheless, there is evidence that the relative positions of the large occupational groups would be the same though important changes within the groups would no doubt appear if a similar number of civilians were studied in the same way.

Fryer marks off quite definitely five occupational levels as follows:

I. Professional occupational level. (Superior intelligence required.)
II. Technical occupational level. (High average intelligence required.)
III. Skilled occupational level. (Average intelligence required.)
IV. Semi-skilled and low-skilled occupational level. (Low average intelligence required.)
V. Unskilled occupational level. (Inferior intelligence required.)[1]

Fryer has gone so far as to make a list of 96 occupations for each of which he gives the intelligence group, the score average, and the score range in terms of the Army Alpha tests. For example, for an accountant the intelligence group is A, the score average is 137, and the score range is 103–155. For a chauffeur the intelligence group is C, the score average is 65, and the score range is 43–91. According to Fryer this means that a man who wishes to be a chauffeur will stand the best chance of "achievement in the occupation" if he ranks in intelligence group C, has an intelligence rating near 65, and is neither below 43 nor above 91.

The Minnesota Occupational Rating Scales developed more recently provide for six categories of *abstract* intelligence, as follows:

I. High professional and executive occupations: Requiring very superior intelligence with training equivalent to that of a college gradu-

[1] Douglas Fryer, "Occupational Intelligence Standards," *School and Society*, XVI (Sept. 2, 1922), 273–277.

ate from a first-class institution. High standards, with ability for creative and directive work, such as lawyer, college president, president of a large manufacturing concern, etc.

II. Lower professional and large business occupations: Requiring superior intelligence with training *equivalent* to 2 or 3 years of college or to that of executive of moderately large business. Achievements less creative than in group I, but also demanding executive and leadership ability, such as executive of a moderately large business, veterinary doctor, high school teacher, etc.

III. Technical, clerical, supervisory occupations: Requiring high average intelligence with training *equivalent* to high school graduation. Minor executives (foremen, department heads) or highly technical work often involving dealing with abstract classifications and details, such as railroad clerks, some retail dealers, photographers, telegraphers, shop foremen, stenographers, etc.

IV. Skilled tradesmen and low-grade clerical workers: Requiring average intelligence with *equivalent* of some training beyond the eighth grade. Mechanical work demanding specialized skill and knowledge; tasks mostly of a complicated but concrete nature and requiring particular technical training, such as auto mechanic, stationary engineer, file clerk, typist, etc.

V. Semi-skilled occupations: Requiring low average or slightly below average intelligence, with training *equivalent* to seventh or eighth grade. Work demanding a minimum of technical knowledge or skill but a maximum of special abilities, such as dexterity in the performance of repetitive and routine work, such as packer in factories, operatives in factories (operate machines but do not understand principles and are unable to repair or set up the machine), lowest grades of clerical work also, such as number sorters, delivery men.

VI. Unskilled occupations: Requiring inferior intelligence only, with no formal training necessary. Routine manual work under supervision and requiring no skill or technical knowledge, such as day laborers, railroad section hands.[1]

It is interesting to note at this point that the Minnesota group who propose these categories of *abstract* intelligence set up also six categories each of mechanical ability, social intelligence, musical talent, and artistic ability. Attention will be given to these later when special aptitudes are considered.

[1] D. G. Paterson, Gwendolen Schneidler, and J. Spencer Carlson, *Minnesota Occupational Rating Scales*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1936.

Yoakum[1] reports results of an extensive study of "mental alertness" among salesmen, conducted a number of years ago by the Bureau of Personnel Research of the Carnegie Institute of Technology. This study shows striking differences among groups of workers in different parts of the same general field—selling. There were four groups of salesmen considered: *A*, counter salespeople in retail stores; *B*, wholesale salesmen to retail stores; *C*, insurance salesmen; and *D*, salesmen requiring training at a technical college. The average mental alertness score of group *A* was 51; of group *B*, 89; of group *C*, 112; and of group *D*, 139. The chart on page 185 shows the distributions of mental alertness scores for the four groups. While particular attention is attracted to these average scores, the range of scores within the various groups deserves attention, also. The group of insurance salesmen, for example, with an average score in mental alertness of 112, includes men with both lower and higher scores than are shown for any other group. A more extensive study would be necessary in order to determine the significance of this wide range—a study which takes account of the proficiency of the worker in comparison with his mental alertness and also of the different levels of intelligence among the patrons of the insurance salesman. Most insurance salesmen who are successful with unskilled factory workers are not of the type who succeed with professional workers.

Significance of intelligence ratings for vocational counseling. While much more study of this problem is needed, enough evidence has accumulated during the past 20 years to make a convincing case for the value of intelligence scores or ratings in aiding young people to make the transfer from school to occupational life, assuming, of course, that these ratings have been obtained with proper care.

It is obvious that one individual may choose an occupation in which the great majority of workers have a higher degree of intelligence than he possesses, while it is quite as possible for another to choose an occupation in which the great majority of workers have a markedly lower intelligence rating than his. Entry into the occupation in either case is likely to prove unfor-

[1] C. S. Yoakum, "Basic Experiments for Scientific Selection," *Carnegie Institute of Technology, Service Bulletin of the Bureau of Personnel Research*, IV (January, 1922), 12.

tunate, though in the former case, especially if the occupation chosen lies in the professional field, the many educational hurdles to be encountered make actual entry improbable. Generally, however, it is far better to avoid the waste of time and energy and the bad psychological effects of repeated failures to leap the hurdles. If such an individual actually succeeds in entering the occupation, he gives himself an enormous handicap in his efforts

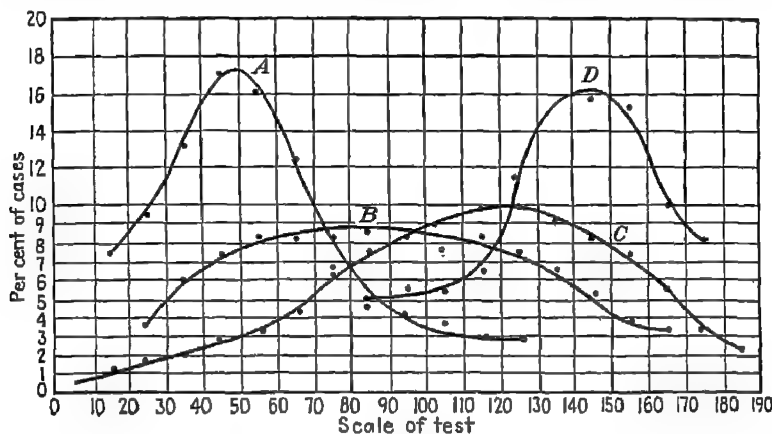


CHART 2.—"MENTAL ALERTNESS" AMONG SALESMEN.

Types of Salespeople

A. Counter salespeople.
B. Wholesale salesmen to local retail stores.
C. Insurance salesmen.
D. Salesmen requiring training at a technical college.

[*From Yoakum, "Basic Experiments for Scientific Selection," Carnegie Institute of Technology, Service Bulletin of the Bureau of Personnel Research, IV* (*January,* 1922), 12.]

for success in that he has placed himself in competition with a group of men and women whose intelligence is greater than his own.

On the other hand, the one who enters an occupation which is definitely below his level of intelligence will usually find that neither the work nor the associations bring him satisfaction. He either seeks another occupation or becomes a routine worker who finds satisfaction outside his work rather than in it. Scott and Clothier[1] showed quite conclusively that, under certain

[1] W. D. SCOTT, R. C. CLOTHIER, and S. B. MATHEWSON, *Personnel Management*, 2d ed., pp. 463–466, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1931.

circumstances, labor turnover depends very directly upon the relation of mental alertness of the worker to the work done. In one company, for example, they found a good degree of stability among clerical workers whose mental alertness rating as measured by a certain test was between 35 and 50, while there was high turnover among those whose rating was decidedly below 35 or decidedly above 50. Those in the low group appeared to be unable to meet the requirements of the work. In this particular case lack of a suitable promotional policy made it impossible to hold many of those whose intelligence ratings were comparatively high.

The same authors report, concerning another establishment, that in the tool department where the work is high grade and varied, 83 per cent of the men who were retarded five years in school progress (amount of retardation being taken as a measure of mental alertness since results of intelligence tests were not available) desired change of work. On the other hand, in the inspection department, where the work is largely "foolproof," repetitive, and monotonous, the amount of dissatisfaction was very low among those who were very retarded in school, while 90 per cent of those whose progress in school was normal expressed a wish for some other kind of work.

It would be highly desirable, to be sure, to have more complete evidence than is yet available as to the intelligence requirements of different occupations. Indeed, Terman predicted many years ago that ultimately research will determine the minimum intelligence quotient necessary for success in each leading occupation. This much desired goal is still far from realization, though there has been progress in that direction. However, there is already, as we have seen, sufficient evidence of this general character to make it necessary for the vocational counselor to ascertain the pupil's intelligence rating and take it into account when considering his fitness or unfitness for any specific occupation.

Limitations on the use of intelligence ratings. While intelligence ratings are helpful in determining whether an individual has the ability to leap the educational hurdles that bar the way to entrance upon certain vocations, and while they serve also to help him avoid placing himself under an excessive handicap of competition with more capable people, the limitations of these ratings for vocational guidance purposes should not be over-

looked. Intelligence ratings are useful in the selection of an occupational level rather than of a particular occupation.

To be sure, if an individual is considering a particular occupation, his intelligence rating is of assistance in reaching a decision for or against it. But this is because of the general level of ability or preparation it requires rather than because of its peculiar characteristics. If he has no particular occupation in mind, the rating helps him to reduce the range of occupations among which to continue his search. By means of his intelligence rating he is assisted in deciding in favor of or against the professional field or the skilled trade field but not in deciding between law and medicine or between the machinist's and the plumber's trades. There are a great number of other occupations on each of these levels.

Again, it must be kept in mind that in any one group of occupations, and in any particular occupation within that group, the workers differ a great deal in their intelligence ratings, as is seen by examining the charts on pages 181 and 185. For example, the middle 50 per cent of the plumbers included in Chart 1 on page 181 vary from a low average rating of C− to a high average rating of C+ by the Army Alpha Test, with part of the plumbers rating lower than C− and part higher than C+. Still more striking is the wide range of intelligence ratings of salesmen, especially insurance salesmen, already referred to as shown in Chart 2, on page 185. From the evidence available there can be no doubt that, important as it is, intelligence is only one factor to be considered in the problem of vocational selection. An individual may possess one or more of the other factors to such a degree as to compensate for a slight, or in some cases, a considerable shortage of intelligence as measured by the standard tests.

Summary

Six kinds of data concerning each pupil are needed for use in a school program of vocational guidance: general data, physical data, psychological data, social environment data, achievement data, and data concerning the individual's educational and vocational plans. However, only such data should be gathered as will actually be used.

The general data are mainly for use in locating the pupil when needed. Included are name, address, telephone number, name

of parent, name of home-room teacher, and pupil's school program for the current semester. The physical data required cover such items as race, sex, age, health record, physical handicaps if any, height and weight in relation to physical maturity. These data must be brought up to date from time to time as the pupil advances through the secondary school period. The needed psychological data include information concerning the individual's intelligence, his special aptitudes, and his personality traits. This chapter is concerned principally with data pertaining to intelligence.

In this discussion the term "intelligence" is defined as "capacity of the individual to adjust himself to new situations, to solve new problems, to learn." It is accepted that an individual's intelligence is chiefly a matter of inheritance and that its modifiability is limited rather narrowly.

School attainment is a rough but far from satisfactory measure of intelligence. In order to provide a more accurate measure, individual and group intelligence tests were developed, beginning with the Binet-Simon individual tests in France and the Stanford Revision of these in America. Results of intelligence tests often are expressed in terms of "intelligence quotient" (I.Q.), a person being rated above normal (or average) in intelligence when his I.Q. is above 100. Notwithstanding much popular skepticism concerning the reliability of such tests, a well-chosen intelligence test properly given and carefully scored affords a better measure of intelligence as defined above than school records or anything else yet devised. People generally are distributed with reference to intelligence, as measured by the tests, according to the normal curve of distribution.

Since it has been shown that intelligence is a very important success factor in high school, college, and university work, an individual's I.Q. is a significant item in predicting how far he is likely to be able to go with his education. And since entrance into many vocations depends upon high school graduation or college graduation followed by special preparation, the I.Q. is an item of significance for vocational choice. Ability to leap the educational hurdles which bar entrance into occupations must be taken into account in vocational counseling.

It has been shown, also, that vocations differ decidedly in respect to the I.Q.'s of the great majority of those who work with

efficiency and satisfaction in them. An individual may be too intelligent to find satisfaction in the monotonous routine of one type of occupation and not intelligent enough to meet successfully the requirements of another. Since occupations have been classified, even though somewhat roughly, with reference to the degree of intelligence which they require, here again the I.Q. is an important item in counseling. However, it is an aid in determining the *occupational level* for which one is suited rather than in selecting a particular occupation. The problem of selecting a particular occupation at that level still remains.

The I.Q. is an important item of information needed in vocational counseling but only one of several such items.

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CHAPTER XI

THE PERSONAL DATA COLLECTING SERVICE: SPECIAL APTITUDES AND INTERESTS

Special Aptitude Tests

The significance of aptitudes. One of the factors other than intelligence which claims attention in the list of psychological data needed for vocational guidance purposes is the special aptitudes possessed by an individual which make him better suited to one occupation or type of occupation than another. It is well known that two people of approximately the same general ability often differ a great deal in the ease with which they can learn music or the readiness with which they "take to" music. It is often said that one has an aptitude for music while the other has not. Similarly it is often said of a person that he has an aptitude for art, or dramatics, or carpentry, or engineering, or sales work, or some other occupation. It is clear that there is something which, if discoverable and measurable in advance of vocational choice and preparation, should prove of great value in vocational counseling. If it is possible to obtain them, data concerning an individual's aptitudes should make it possible to narrow more closely the range of occupational choice within that group or level of occupations indicated by his intelligence rating as desirable for him.

The nature of special aptitudes. As defined by Warren in his *Dictionary of Psychology*, aptitude is "a condition or set of characteristics regarded as symptomatic of an individual's ability to acquire with training some (usually specified) knowledge, skill, or set of responses such as the ability to speak a language, to produce music, etc." Bingham, after quoting Warren, adds:

> In referring to a person's aptitude for mathematics or art, or carpentry, or law, we are looking to the future. His aptitude is, however, a present condition, a pattern of traits, deemed to be indicative of his potentialities.[1]

[1] W. V. Bingham, *Aptitudes and Aptitude Testing*, pp. 16–17, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1937.

Bingham then proceeds to make it clear that he is not thinking of aptitude as limited to native endowments only.

We want the facts about a person's aptitudes *as they are at present:* characteristics now indicative of his future potentialities. Whether he was born that way, or acquired certain enduring dispositions in his earliest infancy, or matured under circumstances which have radically altered his original capacities is, to be sure, a question not only of great theoretical interest but of profound importance to society at large, for the answer has a bearing on public policy in regard to universal education, the functions of the school, and eugenic legislation. But it is of little practical moment to the individual himself at a time when he has already reached the stage of educational and occupational planning. His potentialities at that period of his development are quite certainly the products of interaction between conditions both innate and environmental. His capacity for gaining manual skills, his intelligence, his emotional make-up, his moral character, indeed all the aspects of his personality, are in varying degrees subject to limitations that have been imposed by opportunities for growth and exercise, as well as by his original nature. No matter what his constitution may at first have been, it has unfolded, taken shape, been encouraged here and thwarted there, during the impact of favorable or unfavorable stimulation from the environments in which he has developed. And so, when appraising his aptitude, whether for leadership, for selling, for research, or for artistic design, we must take him as he is—not as he might have been.[1]

Bingham insists further that one's readiness to acquire proficiency in an occupation is not the sole measure of his aptitude for it. Readiness to develop an interest in exercising his potential ability along this line is involved, also, and "'ability to acquire' a genuine absorption in the work, as well as a satisfactory level of competence."[2] Here certain personality traits seem to come into the picture as Bingham sees it, for it is not uncommon for an individual to manifest musical ability, for example, who lacks the personal qualities essential to its development.

It appears, too, that Bingham's conception of aptitude is broad enough to include intelligence, for he says in discussing preparation for the professions: "Minimum levels of intelligence as measured by the more reliable examinations are without ques-

[1] *Ibid*, pp. 16–17.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

tion factors in aptitude for successful mastery of what these [professional] schools teach."[1]

For the purposes of this book Bingham's conception of aptitudes is too broad. The whole question of psychological suitability for an occupation seems to be implied when he speaks of aptitude for it. It has seemed better to the writer to break up this question of suitability into intelligence, special aptitudes, and personality traits, and then to consider each of these separately in relation to vocational choice. However, this is done with full recognition of the impossibility of separating the three in any given situation. All must be considered together in actual counseling, for instance. Their separation in discussion seems more likely to result in clear understanding and to assure proper consideration of all three in dealing with the subject of needed psychological data. This should become more evident in the chapter on Counseling.

If Warren's definition as discussed by Bingham is accepted, with the single reservation just noted, it will be seen that a special aptitude has substantially the same relationship to a particular line of activity that intelligence has to life as a whole. We are concerned with "capacity of the individual to adjust himself to new situations, to solve new problems, to learn" in both cases. The area covered by this concern is what differs.

It should be noted, also, that what matters in case of special aptitudes, just as in case of intelligence, is *present* capacity rather than native capacity. To be sure, the former capacity includes the latter and the effects of environment upon it. Also, the former is determined to a large extent by the latter. But, since no method has yet been found of separating the latter from the former, only the former is available for study and measurement, however desirable it might be to have this otherwise. Of course, native special capacity can be inferred from present special capacity, especially if proper attention is given to environmental influences that may have contributed to the development of the special capacity concerned.

Tests of special aptitudes. A few illustrations relating to widely different types of occupations will help to make clear the nature of special aptitude tests.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

Tests for shell inspectors. Link gave a series of tests to 73 girls employed in a munitions plant. Fifty-two of the girls were inspectors and 21 were gaugers. He then found the correlations between the scores made by the girls who were inspectors and the average number of pounds of shells inspected per hour over a period of four weeks. Also he found similar correlations for the gaugers. The following results were obtained:

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN TEST SCORES AND PROFICIENCY IN THE WORK OF INSPECTOR AND GAUGER*

Tests	Correlations	
	Inspectors	Gaugers
Card sorting	.55	.05
Tapping	.14	.52
Cancellation	.63	.17
General intelligence	.14	.18
Number-group checking	.72	−.19

* H. C. LINK, *Employment Psychology*, p 33, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1919.

From this experiment Link concluded that high scores made by an individual in the card-sorting, cancellation, and number-group checking tests indicated probable success as an inspector, while only the tapping test had any significance in the selection of gaugers.

In summarizing all his experiments in this field, which involved giving the tests that he found significant to more than 2,900 applicants for the work of inspection and to a considerable number already engaged in this work, Link says:

> It was found (1) that the verdict of the foreman tended to bear out that of the tests; (2) that of a certain group studied intensively, 94 per cent of the successful workers were above the standard in the tests, and all failures were failures also in the tests; (3) that those who passed the tests worked (that is, were continuously employed as inspectors) almost ten times as long as those who did not.[1]

It should be noted that shell inspection is highly specialized, repetitive work, which requires ability to observe defects quickly,

[1] LINK, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

and to throw out deftly the defective shells. One who is suited to the work can become quite proficient in a few days.

Tests of musical talent. Tests to determine a very different kind of aptitude, or the lack of it, were developed by Seashore,[1] and recently revised by him and associates. As long ago as 1916 this well-known psychologist, after many years of experiment and study, established a clinic at the University of Iowa for testing musical capacity. Describing this undertaking, he says:

> It is now possible to make reliable and fairly complete measurements of the fundamental capacities which constitute musical talent early enough to serve as a guide in the selection of a musical career. The measurement of musical talent is not one measurement but a large number of measurements which must be built up into a system so as to represent fairly the most salient features of musical talent. It is necessary, for example, to know the sensitiveness of the ear to tones, the musical imagination, the musical memory, the musical intellect, the musical feeling, the time-sense, the sense of rhythm, and the sense of harmony and melody, which are capacities involved in the hearing and appreciation of music. Likewise it is necessary to know the corresponding facts about the ability to express music in singing and playing. Different instruments require different kinds of talent. . . .
>
> In brief, the examiner should be able to state on the basis of scientifically observed facts, what kind of musical training and achievement, if any, the pupil is adapted for and what is the probable extent of achievement and rate of progress.[2]

In a book[3] published some years later, Seashore presents the following list of factors of the musical mind:

- I. Musical sensitivity.
  - A. Simple forms of impression.
    - 1. Sense of pitch.
    - 2. Sense of intensity.
    - 3. Sense of time.
    - 4. Sense of extensity.
  - B. Complex forms of appreciation.
    - 1. Sense of rhythm.

[1] JOSEPH G. SAETVEIT, DON LEWIS, and CARL E. SEASHORE, *The Revision of the Seashore Measures of Musical Talents*, Series on Aims and Progress of Research, No. 65, Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1939.

[2] CARL E. SEASHORE, *Vocational Guidance in Music*, University of Iowa Monographs, First Series, No. 2, Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1916.

[3] CARL E. SEASHORE, *The Psychology of Musical Talent*, New York: Silver, Burdett & Company, 1920.

2. Sense of timbre.
3. Sense of consonance.
4. Sense of volume.

II. Musical action.

Natural capacity for skill in accurate and musically expressive production of tones (vocal, instrumental, or both) in:

1. Control of pitch.
2. Control of intensity.
3. Control of time.
4. Control of rhythm.
5. Control of timbre.
6. Control of volume.

III. Musical memory.

1. Auditory imagery.
2. Motor imagery.
3. Creative imagination.
4. Memory span.
5. Learning power.

IV. Musical intellect.

1. Musical free association.
2. Musical power of reflection.
3. General intelligence.

V. Musical feeling.

1. Musical taste.
2. Emotional reaction to music.
3. Emotional self-expression in music.

Considering for the moment a single factor in this list, Seashore found that one individual may be 200 times as keen as another in pitch discrimination. He concludes that, other things being equal, the best 10 per cent in pitch should be stimulated enthusiastically to develop their musical talent; the next 20 per cent should be encouraged freely; the next 40 per cent should be encouraged; the next 20 per cent should be questioned; and the last 10 per cent should be discouraged. Of course, Seashore is thinking here not only in terms of a musical career but also in terms of musical appreciation and amateur performance.

Seashore cites the case of one girl who had had considerable musical training and achieved local success as a singer who made a high score in his tests, taken as a whole. This girl was greatly encouraged and stimulated in her efforts toward a musical career by the showing she made in the tests. Another girl of poor family who had had no training made an exceptionally high score in the tests, and was given training opportunities as a

result. A young man upon whose musical "education" considerable money and effort had been expended with insignificant results was found to be hopelessly deficient in several of the most important factors covered by the tests. The accompanying

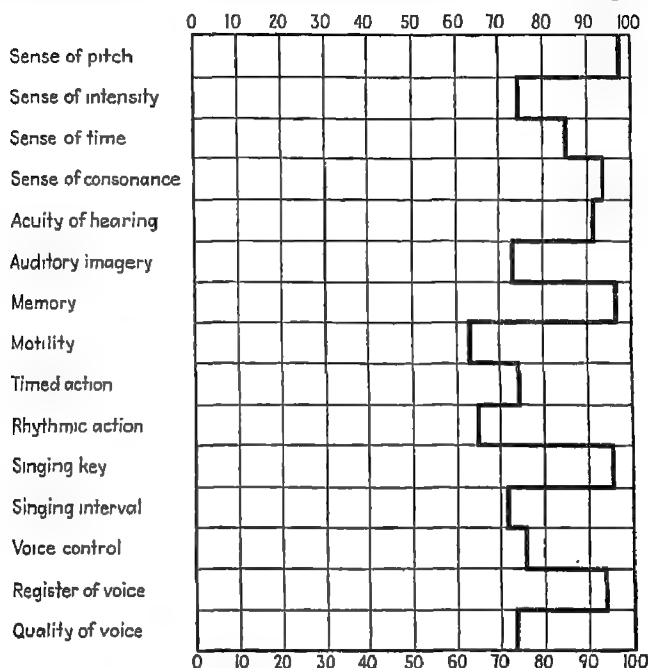


CHART 3.—MUSICAL TALENT OF "MR. WHITE."

(*From Carl E. Seashore, The Psychology of Musical Talent*, p. 23, *New York: Silver, Burdett & Company*, 1920.)

charts show the scores made by two men whom Seashore calls "Mr. White" and "Mr. Black."

Of Mr. White, Seashore says:

In general Mr. White has an unusually strong and well-balanced musical mind, ranking in this respect among the best three per cent in a normal community. He has always manifested great interest and activity in music, but has had only a small amount of formal training. He lives in a tonal world and is emotionally responsive to music.[1]

Concerning Mr. Black the following comment is made:

So far as musical resources are concerned, his record is remarkable for its uniform inferiority. He has taken music lessons but has met

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

with failure. He shows only a perfunctory interest in music. This record removes all necessity for uncertainty and pretense.[1]

Tests of mechanical aptitude. Much attention has been given to tests of mechanical aptitude which, of course, are designed to measure aptitude for a fairly large field of occupations rather

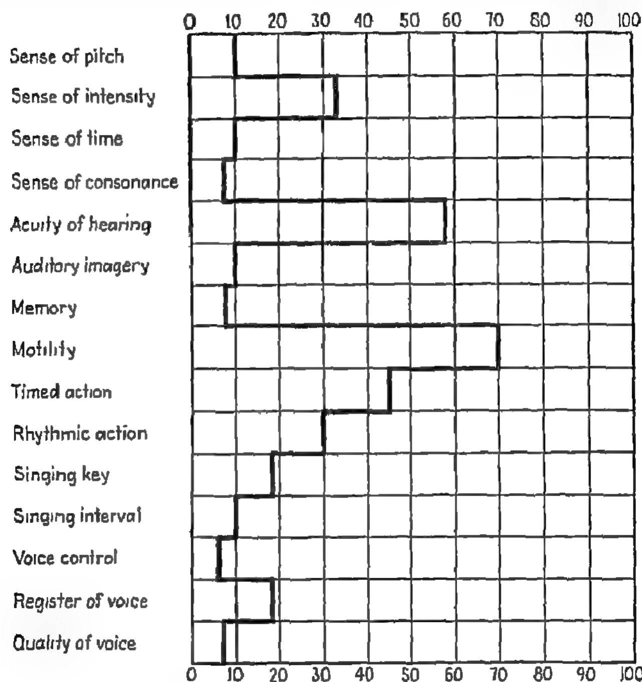


CHART 4.—MUSICAL TALENT OF "MR BLACK."
(From Carl E. Seashore, The Psychology of Musical Talent, p. 25, New York: Silver, Burdett & Company, 1920.)

than for a single occupation. One of the earliest of these, developed by Stenquist, involved assembling of parts into mechanical devices, beginning with a simple one and advancing as far as the fixed time would permit through a series of devices each more complicated than its predecessor. Stenquist later brought out his more widely used paper-and-pencil tests. Essential features of these tests are identification of pictures of tools and parts of mechanical contrivances and answering questions about pictures and diagrams of machines and machine

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 25

parts. Stenquist reports a median coefficient of correlation of .67 between scores made on his tests and shop teachers' ratings of "general mechanical aptitude."[1]

O'Rourke's Mechanical Aptitude Tests, also of the paper-and-pencil type, were used by the Tennessee Valley Authority in selecting laborers who were to be given opportunity to learn various skilled trades. In other experiments with these tests it was found that nearly all candidates for engineering training scored B or better while mature T.V.A. workers averaged about D+. These tests, like those of Stenquist, are based on the assumption that one who possesses mechanical aptitude picks up more information concerning machines and mechanical things than does one who lacks this aptitude. Hence a measure of one's mechanical information is also a measure of his mechanical aptitude.

The Minnesota Mechanical Assembly Test[2] constitutes the most ambitious effort to measure mechanical aptitude. The subject is asked to assemble the disassembled parts of each of nine mechanical objects (box *A*) with a time allowance on each object. If an object is not assembled when the time allowance is up he passes to the next object. The total time limit for the nine objects is 18 minutes. Next he is asked to assemble the parts of each of eight objects in another group (box *B*) with a total time limit of 21 minutes 5 seconds. Then he is asked to assemble 16 objects of another group (box *C*), with a total time limit of 16 minutes. A push-button doorbell and a bicycle bell are among the objects in box *A*; a monkey wrench and an inside caliper, among those of box *B*; and pliers and a metal pencil, among those of box *C*.

The vocational significance of a score made on this test is suggested by the average standard scores of three groups of workers as follows: machinists, 5.85; industrial arts teachers, 5.49; machine operators (lathe, drill press, etc.), 4.98. Among a sample of men from the general working population, 80 per cent did not exceed the average score made by industrial arts teachers

[1] J. L. Stenquist, *Measurements of Mechanical Ability*, Teachers College Contributions to Education, No. 130, New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1923.

[2] D. G. Paterson and others, *Minnesota Mechanical Ability Tests*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1930.

and 49 per cent did not exceed the average score of machine operators. Also, it was found that 70 per cent of garage mechanics made a better score on this test than the average office clerk. On the other hand, only 11 per cent of the garage mechanics rated as high in verbal intelligence as the average office clerk. No doubt, differences in education and experience as well as differences in native capacity influence results in case of both of these tests when taken by adults.

Commenting on the vocational significance of these tests, Bingham says:

A person's verbal intelligence seems to have little relation to his performance in mechanical assembly tests. Brightness in abstract school subjects does not imply mechanical aptitudes; neither does dullness. In the distribution of human endowments, the so-called law of compensation has not been found to hold. To make trade schools the dumping-ground for students whose only qualification for entrance is their inability to learn from books is nothing short of scandalous. The youths' mechanical aptitudes should first be ascertained, by reference to their achievements in pre-vocational tryout courses and their test records. Assembly tests have proved useful in such situations, as parts of a battery for ascertaining unsuspected mechanical talents and for estimating the probabilities of mastering vocational courses in which some aptness for handling mechanical contrivances is needed.

A person's score may be thought of as determined in part by his endowment of mechanical ingenuity, in part by his familiarity with mechanical devices more or less similar to these in principle. His score, then, cannot be taken as a pure measure of his mechanical intelligence, but must be appraised in the light of what is known about his previous background and opportunity for knowing about and manipulating a large variety of mechanisms. This precaution is particularly to be observed when interpreting the significance of an adult's score.[1]

Bingham also points out that it is necessary to consider the size of the standard error of measurement and that this varies more in case of adults than in case of boys. He concludes that unless a person's performance in an assembly test of this sort is much below average and is also accompanied by other indications of lack of mechanical ability or interest, it need not discourage him from entering a mechanical occupation.

[1] BINGHAM, *op cit.*, p. 308.

Another test of mechanical aptitude is Johnson O'Connor's Wiggly Blocks,[1] used by him to measure ability to visualize three-dimensional structure. He claims a high degree of success by means of this test in selecting youth who should prepare for such occupations as those of engineer, architect, draftsman, and high-grade machinist. O'Connor also uses a finger-dexterity test and a tweezer-dexterity test to discover aptitude for certain types of small assembly work.

Other tests in this field include the McQuarrie Test for Mechanical Ability and the Detroit Mechanical Aptitudes Examination, with separate forms for boys and girls.

Tests of clerical aptitude. In the field of clerical work numerous efforts have been made to devise aptitude tests, both for the field as a whole and for parts of it. A rather comprehensive effort to measure aptitude for typing was made by Muscio and Sowton[2] in London more than 15 years ago. They gave a series of tests to 220 subjects in several groups, all of whom possessed more or less experience in typewriting. Correlations were then found between the rank of the subjects in the tests and their rank in proficiency in the groups to which they belonged. These investigators concluded that the following tests which they used showed sufficiently high correlations to be of some significance in discovering aptitude for typewriting:

1. A test of immediate memory span. (Reproducing sentences immediately after they are read.)
2. A test in carrying out directions.
3. A finding test. (Finding products of pairs of two-place numbers from a table.)
4. A completion test, in which appropriate words must be supplied to fill in blank spaces in a sentence.
5. A test of spelling.

They considered it probable, also, that a test of speed of association would be valuable.

Minnesota Test for Clerical Workers. A test of more general aptitude in this field is the Minnesota Vocational Test for

[1] JOHNSON O'CONNOR, *Psychometrics*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1934.

[2] B. MUSCIO and S. C. M. SOWTON, "Vocational Tests and Typewriting," *The British Journal of Psychology*, XIII (April, 1923), 343–369.

Clerical Workers.[1] The subject checks pairs of numbers and pairs of names, the members of each pair being exactly alike in some cases and differing very slightly in other cases. Only those pairs that are *exactly alike* are to be checked. A time limit of 15 minutes and 28 minutes is fixed for the shorter and longer forms respectively of this test, slightly more time being allowed for the number checking than for the name checking. Accuracy and speed are thus the two qualities that are measured.

Accountants and bookkeepers make better scores on this test than any other group of clerical workers. On the average their scores are better than 95 per cent of subjects selected at random from the general working population. The average scores of accountants are somewhat better than those of stenographers, and the latter considerably better than those of office-machine operators. It is interesting to note that while the two latter groups averaged approximately the same on number checking, stenographers averaged decidedly better than office-machine operators on word checking. The authors report an important relationship between scores made on the test by school pupils and their later success in a commercial high school.

Johnson O'Connor applies the name "accounting aptitude" to the qualities measured by a test devised by himself which is similar to the Minnesota Vocational Test for Clerical Workers. He points out, however, that business executives, also, and others in office positions average well in this test.

Tests of aptitude for other occupational fields. Little more than mention can be made here of other aptitude tests.

The McAdory Art Test[2] includes 72 plates, each of which pictures a single subject in four different ways, *A*, *B*, *C*, and *D*. An individual's score on the test is determined by the closeness of his judgment on the relative artistic merits of *A*, *B*, *C*, and *D* to the predetermined combined judgment of a group of carefully selected art experts.

[1] DOROTHY M. ANDREW and DONALD G. PATERSON, *Measured Characteristics of Clerical Workers*, University of Minnesota Employment Stabilization Research Institute Studies, Vol. III, No. 1, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1934.

[2] MARGARET MCADORY, *The Construction and Validation of an Art Test*, Teachers College Contributions to Education, No. 383, New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1929.

The Art Judgment Test,[1] devised by Meier and Seashore, consists of 125 pairs of pictures, one of each pair being a reproduction of the work of a famous artist and the other of the pair being an inferior copy of the same picture. The person taking the test is asked to select from each pair the one that is the "more pleasing, more artistic, more satisfying."

Varnum's Selective Art Aptitude Test[2] is divided into seven parts, grouped according to related aptitudes, which in turn are related to groups of art professions or industries requiring ability contained in that specified group. Group *A* consists of three purely objective tests designed to fit the requirements of certain industrial and art processes:

Test 1. Acuity of vision (form observation)—4 parts.
Test 2. Color memory—2 parts.
Test 3. Tone gradations—2 parts.

Groups *B* and *C* are concerned with "measuring the feeling-tone, the subjective, and emotional side of the field of art."[3] Ability shown in group *B* "opens up additional opportunities and broader goals than would be the case of proficiency in group *A*," while group *C* "measures those elements of creative activity of outstanding value to industrial and other divisions of art."[4] Each of these groups contains two tests:

Group *B*	Test 4.	Proportioning—1 part.
	Test 5.	Balance and rhythm—4 parts.
Group *C*	Test 6.	Speed (motor reactions under creative stimulus)—2 parts.
	Test 7.	Creative imagination—2 parts.

The Stanford Scientific Aptitude Test and the Coxe-Orleans Prognosis Test of Teaching Ability, which Bingham lists among intelligence tests, deserve careful examination by those who are interested in measuring aptitudes for these professional fields.

[1] N. C. Meier, *Aesthetic Judgment as a Measure of Art Talent*, University of Iowa Studies, 1st series, No. 114, Iowa City: University of Iowa, 1926.

[2] William H. Varnum, *Selective Art Aptitude Test*, Scranton, Pa.: International Textbook Company, 1940.

[3] William H. Varnum, *Validation, Reliability, and Rating Manual for a Selective Art Aptitude Test*, p. 2, Scranton, Pa.: International Textbook Company, 1940.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

Tests of this type of varying merit have been devised for aviators, dressmakers, hairdressers, journalists, policemen, printers, railway workers, salesmen, streetcar motormen, telegraph operators, telephone operators, and for workers in other occupations.

Methods used in devising aptitude tests. A method of devising aptitude tests which has met with some success is the empiric method. The investigator takes a group of tests of any sort that he thinks might be useful, gives them to a considerable number of workers of known ability in the occupation under investigation and then determines which tests show a high correlation with occupational proficiency. Tests showing a high correlation are considered suitable for selection of new workers. Link used this method in selecting shell inspectors.

The method of devising special aptitude tests which seems likely to make the largest contribution to vocational guidance is that which involves a careful analysis of the occupation into its elements. It is then determined what psychological qualities are important in connection with each element, and individuals are tested for these qualities. This is substantially the plan followed by Seashore. It is, of course, necessary to determine the validity of the test by giving it to a considerable number of people who are already engaged in the occupation and whose efficiency has been reliably rated. Only in case there is a high correlation, with small probable error, between performance in the test and performance in the occupation can one conclude that the test is valid.

An interesting illustration of this method is found in the tests for dressmakers' apprentices used by Miss Spielman[1] in London. As a result of careful analysis she came to the conclusion that the psychological factors determining efficiency in dressmaking are: (1) speed of work—maximum speed, customary speed, ratio of maximum speed to customary speed, and resistance to distraction; (2) quality of work—accuracy, perception of equal distances, memory of length, form, and color, coordination of hand and eye and hand and image, and lightness of touch; and (3) independence of forewomen's supervision—memory for complicated instructions, and observation. The tests for maximum speed included drawing circles at maximum speed, threading beads at maximum

[1] Winifred Spielman, "Vocational Tests for Dressmakers' Apprentices," *The Journal of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology*, I (July, 1923).

speed, pricking with a mounted needle at maximum speed, and knotting wool at maximum speed. It will be observed that the processes involved in dressmaking were avoided in these tests. The same was true of the tests used for customary speed, for perception of equal distances, for memory of length, form, and color, and for the other qualities listed above. A correlation of .78 was found between the results of the tests and the ranking made by the trademistress of the girls who took the tests.

Looking at the matter from another angle, it obviously would be a great advantage if, on the one hand, each pupil could be tested for and rated in the entire range of important psychological qualities and, on the other hand, each occupation could be analyzed into its elements and the psychological quality most important for each element determined. This would make available at any time a psychograph of each individual pupil for comparison with, if the term may be permitted, the psychograph of any particular occupation in which he may become interested. However, the Swiss psychologist, Claparède, holds that

> Psychological analysis of the subject and determination of his separate mental functions may or may not give an accurate estimate of his aptitude for an occupation. The accuracy of the estimate is a new question which can only be settled by experience. The great majority of occupational operations require the coordination of these elementary functions. The possession of these abilities and the power to coordinate them are two different things.[1]

Present status of aptitude tests in guidance work. Much to be desired as suitable tests of special aptitudes are, it must be admitted that we are still far from the time when the vocational bureau of a city school system can make extensive use of tests of this type for guidance purposes. The number of occupations for which such tests have been developed is extremely small in comparison with the number of occupations listed by the United States Census. Few of the tests that have been developed have, as yet, proved their value. Preparing and validating tests of this character is an undertaking of such magnitude that further progress along this line must of necessity be slow. And even after a large body of suitable tests is developed there remains the

[1] Edouard Claparède, *Problems and Methods of Vocational Guidance*, p. 51, Geneva: International Labour Office, 1922.

task of providing sufficient laboratory facilities and psychological staff to give the tests to large numbers of pupils.

It must be recognized that, up to the present time, tests of special aptitudes have proved more useful in selecting workers for particular jobs than in aiding individuals to choose their occupations.

Nevertheless, directors of vocational guidance and their assistants should keep themselves informed as to developments in this field, encourage and participate in experimental work, and be ready to introduce such tests of special aptitudes, as, from time to time, may prove their worth and be found practicable to administer in a school system.

Vocational Interest Inventories

Closely related to aptitude testing are the efforts that have been made to determine the interests of individuals which are significant for vocational choice. True, psychologists tell us that one may have an aptitude for a particular occupation without showing interest in it (possibly because he knows little about it) and that, on the other hand, one may be interested in an occupation for which he shows no particular aptitude. But the problem here is not that of measuring an individual's expressed interest in a particular occupation. It is rather that of discovering the degree to which he possesses the general *pattern of interests that characterize successful workers* in a specific occupation. Strong and others who have been stressing vocational interest inventories base their work upon the fact that "Men engaged in a particular occupation have been found to have a characteristic pattern of likes and dislikes, which distinguish them from men following other professions." The conclusion follows logically that one who possesses to a high degree the interests that characterize physicians as a group and possesses to a low degree the interests that characterize engineers as a group should give weight to this fact in making his vocational plans.

The Strong Vocational Interest Blank.[1] The most important contribution in this field thus far is that of Strong of Stanford University. He has developed five forms of his well-known Vocational Interest Blank, one for males and one for females out

[1] E. K. Strong, Jr., *Manual for Vocational Interest Blank for Men*, p. 1, Stanford University, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1938.

of school; one for male and one for female students; and one for men whether attending school or not, to be used with recently revised scales. Norms for the interest patterns of workers in 35 occupations, mostly on the professional level, were determined by having thousands of successful adults engaged in these occupations check the last blank mentioned, which contains 400 separate items. In checking the blank one indicates that he likes, dislikes, or is indifferent to each of 100 occupations, 49 recreations and amusements, 36 school subjects, 48 "activities," and 47 peculiarities of people. In addition he expresses himself concerning preferred activities, important factors affecting his work, the men he admires most, the position he would prefer to hold in a club or society, and rates himself on his present abilities and characteristics.

The rating of an individual who fills out the blank is determined by comparing his checked blank with the norms for each of the occupations for which norms have been established. It is thus possible to say that a student's interest pattern scores A or C in respect to architecture, engineering, farming, medicine, teaching, etc. However, it is usually desirable to consider his score with reference to all the occupations on Strong's list, in order to obtain a more complete picture of his interest pattern. The value of the blank decreases rapidly for ages below seventeen years and appears to have little value below fifteen years.

The question of the stability of one's interests naturally arises. May not an individual check the blank differently five years, one year, or even a few months after he checks it the first time? Strong recognizes that this is true but points out that his researches show a striking similarity between the different checkings by the same individual as far as the really significant items are concerned. Most of the differences are found among the reactions of the individual to items which were relatively unimportant in determining his interest pattern the first time he checked the blank. Strong's studies[1] show a correlation between test and retest scores of .75 for 223 men representing 21 occupations who checked the blanks a second time after an interval of five years.

[1] E. K. Strong, Jr., *Change of Interests with Age,* Stanford University, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1931.

Hepner's Vocational Interest Quotient.[1] By means of separate check lists for four large fields of work, Hepner undertakes to determine what he calls the vocational interest quotient. The four fields are the professions (24), business occupations (24), skilled trades (20), occupations for women (24). An individual may take the test for one or more fields as he prefers. Hepner's list of items for checking on each of the four lists numbers 167 and, as in case of Strong's blank, the person taking the test is asked to indicate whether he likes, dislikes, or is indifferent to each item.

Commenting on Hepner's "Herculean task," Bingham says:

> Because of the inclusion of many general non-diagnostic items among the 167 on the blank, and the small numbers in the occupational groups used in preparing the scales, the resulting V.I.Q.'s do not differentiate well between occupational groups, and their use in guidance cannot be recommended.[2]

Cleeton's Vocational Interest Inventory.[3] This inventory has separate forms for men and women. Its author considers it suitable for high school pupils from the ninth grade up, for college students, and for youth who have left school.

While this inventory follows the same general principles as those of the blanks already described, it does not provide for recording reactions of indifference to listed items, and its arrangement is different. The form for men includes a total of 630 items to be checked and 40 questions to be answered yes or no. The same is true of the form for women. The items to be checked are in nine groups. A high score on any group is supposed to indicate possession of interests which are characteristic of workers in a particular field of occupations, though this is not known by one taking the test. The fields of occupations for men provided for are those of the physician and biological scientist; the life insurance salesman and salesman in other special fields; the engineer, technologist, chemist, mathematician, and other workers in physical sciences; the teacher, minister, social worker,

[1] HARRY WALTER HEPNER, *Vocational Interest Quotient Booklets*, New York: Psychological Corporation, 1931.

[2] BINGHAM, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

[3] GLEN U. CLEETON, *Vocational Interest Inventory*, Bloomington, Ill.: McKnight and McKnight, 1937.

and other workers in social sciences; the purchasing agent, business manager, clerk, and other workers in the field of business administration; the lawyer, journalist, and other workers in the legal and literary field; the skilled worker in mechanical occupations; the accountant, statistician, banker, broker, and workers in other financial occupations; the actor, musician, artist, and workers in other creative or public performance occupations.

If one could be sure that a high score on each of these nine groups of items actually indicates what it is supposed to indicate, Cleeton's inventory would be of distinct value. However, he has not yet furnished sufficient evidence on this point to be entirely convincing.

Stewart and Brainard's Specific Interest Inventories.[1] Four forms of these inventories are available—one each for men, boys, women, and girls. The forms for boys and girls are intended for ages ten to sixteen years. Each form contains 20 groups of five questions each. A question may be answered or checked in any one of five ways, thus providing for five levels or degrees of reaction to the question, from like to dislike. The 20 groups deal with 20 different types of interests as follows: artistic, commercial, creative imagination, emotional expression, esthetic, experimental, leadership, literary, manual, mathematical, mechanical, musical, observation, order, outdoor, physical, scientific, social study, and vocal expression. Each question group covers a "different phase of a special mode of expression. For example, under mechanical there is: (1) construction, (2) installation, (3) repair, (4) designing, and (5) operation."

The authors report that:

A class of engineers were followed to graduation after taking an interest test in the freshman year. Of 22 men whose interest ranks and intelligence ranks were below median, only one remained to graduate. Of 49 men whose intelligence ranks were below median but whose interest ranks were above median, 15 remained to graduate. 43 engineers dropped out whose interest scores were above median, and 62 dropped out whose scores were below median. Only six men having interest

[1] Frances J. Stewart and Paul P. Brainard, *Specific Interest Inventories*, New York: Psychological Corporation, 1932.

scores in engineering in the lowest quartile, remained to the senior year, out of the 300 tested.[1]

They report also a fairly high degree of stability of interests as measured by the test in case of 60 ninth-grade school children who were tested in November and again in May of the same school year.

Other vocational interest inventories. Among other inventories of this type are Manson's Occupational Interest Blank for Women, the Oberlin Vocational Interest Inquiry, and Garretson and Symonds's Interest Questionnaire for High School Students. The last named of these is for the purpose of aiding eighth- and ninth-grade boys to decide whether to enter the academic, commercial, or technical curriculum in senior high school.

Present status of vocational interest inventories in vocational guidance. The present situation with respect to use of inventories of this type in a vocational guidance program is similar to that with respect to aptitude tests. Both have fascinating possibilities. Important pioneer work has been done in both fields. Both are now used to a limited extent for vocational guidance purposes. But much experimenting, much improvement in techniques, and much checking of results are necessary before either will find a large place in the guidance work of public school systems.

Nevertheless, as was said concerning aptitude tests, vocational guidance workers will find it decidedly worth while to keep informed concerning developments along the line of vocational interest inventories, and to be ready to cooperate with psychologists in the improvement of this still crude and cumbersome but promising measuring instrument.

A development that looks especially promising at this time is Thurstone's effort to apply his factorial analysis procedure to vocational interests.[2] Thus far he has identified eight vocational interest factors as follows: commercial, legal, athletic, academic, "descriptive," biological, physical science, and art. Each factor

[1] FRANCES J. STEWART and PAUL P. BRAINARD, *Manual of Instructions for Specific Interest Inventories*, p. 3, New York: Psychological Corporation, 1932.

[2] L. I. THURSTONE, "Factorial Analysis of Vocational Interests," paper presented at a meeting of the American Psychological Association, Ann Arbor, Mich., September, 1935.

has significance for a considerable group of occupations. An interest profile resulting from adequate tests of these factors should prove helpful in counseling.

Summary

While one's intelligence is an important factor in determining what *occupational level* is suitable for him, his special aptitudes and interests are significant factors in connection with his choice of an *occupational group* and often of a specific occupation at that level.

Aptitude has been defined as "a condition or set of characteristics regarded as symptomatic of an individual's ability to acquire with training some (usually specified) knowledge, skill, or set of responses such as the ability to speak a language, to produce music, etc."

A special aptitude has substantially the same relationship to a particular activity or group of activities—such as art, music, salesmanship, mechanical occupations, etc.—that intelligence has to life as a whole. In both cases "capacity of the individual to adjust himself to new situations, to solve new problems, to learn" is what is meant. The difference between the two lies in the area of life's activities covered. As in case of intelligence, it is necessary to deal with present capacity rather than with native capacity, though the latter can be inferred from the former when an individual's training and experience along the line of the special activity are taken into account.

A large number of tests of special aptitudes have been devised. Some of these cover broad fields (mechanical and clerical, for example) and some cover single occupations (those of shell inspector, dressmaker, airplane pilot, and others). Good illustrations are the Seashore Tests of Musical Talent, the Minnesota Mechanical Assembly Test, the Minnesota Test for Clerical Workers, the McAdory Art Test, the Stanford Scientific Aptitude Test, and the Coxe-Orleans Prognosis Test of Teaching Ability, though the last two of these have been criticized on the ground that they are tests of intelligence rather than of aptitudes. Thus far tests of special aptitudes have proved more useful in selecting workers for particular jobs than in aiding individuals to choose suitable occupations or even occupational fields. However, their use for the latter purpose is growing. More well-

validated and reliable tests of this type and better machinery for administering them are necessary before they will play a large part in high school vocational guidance programs.

Related to aptitude tests are interest inventories, whose purpose is to compare the interests of an individual with the patterns of interests which characterize successful workers in different occupations. This procedure is based on the fact that "men engaged in a particular occupation have been found to have a characteristic pattern of likes and dislikes, which distinguish them from men following other professions." If the interest pattern of the individual who fills out the inventory form is similar to that of lawyers and quite unlike that of doctors, the conclusion is that he is better suited for law than for medicine.

Among the several vocational interest inventory forms thus far developed the Strong Vocational Interest Blank is probably the most widely used at this time. The value of this blank decreases rapidly for ages below seventeen and has little value below fifteen years.

Like aptitude tests, vocational interest inventories have fascinating possibilities. Both are used to some extent in vocational guidance programs. But much experimenting, much improvement in techniques, and much checking of results are necessary before either will find a large place in the guidance work of public school systems. However, vocational guidance workers will find it desirable to keep informed concerning developments along both of these lines and to cooperate with psychologists in the improvement of these still crude and cumbersome but promising measuring instruments.

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CHAPTER XII

THE PERSONAL DATA COLLECTING SERVICE: PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS, SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT, ACHIEVEMENTS, PLANS

Other factors involved in vocational success. Everyone recognizes that vocational success depends upon other factors as well as upon general intelligence and special aptitudes. Proctor found that among 131 high school pupils whom he studied, the very dullest with an I.Q. of 79 had an average scholastic record of C+, which was exactly the same as that of the second brightest of the group whose I.Q. was 137.[1] Cattell, speaking some years ago of intelligence tests, said: "When applied to school children these tests indicate what the children *can* do better than what they *will* do."[2] In a general way Cattell's statement will apply to aptitude tests also, as these develop, though probably in a lesser degree since one is more likely to be interested in doing the things for which he possesses a special aptitude. But interest is only one of several additional factors that must be taken into account. Drive, emotional stability, initiative, ambition, personal disposition, and a whole group of character traits including industry, honesty, conscientiousness, dependability, courtesy, cooperativeness, and loyalty must always be recognized as of great importance. Introversion-extroversion, dominance-submission, and self-sufficiency are other characteristics that claim attention.

It will be observed that some of these qualities are, to a large extent at least, hereditary while others are more the result of training and experience than of hereditary influences. But, however derived, they have significance for vocational planning since occupations differ in the extent to which they require this or that quality on the part of those who engage in them.

[1] William Martin Proctor, *Educational and Vocational Guidance*, p. 41, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925.

[2] J. McKeen Cattell, unpublished address before the Psychological Section of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1924.

The Downey tests of will-temperament. As long ago as 1923, Downey presented her tests for measuring what she called will-temperament, and which she defined as the innate relatively permanent dynamic pattern of the individual. The phases of the dynamic pattern which she considered most important were: "(1) those of speed and fluidity of reaction, (2) those of forcefulness and decisiveness of reaction, (3) those of carefulness and persistence of reaction."[1]

In discussing the uses of will-temperament testing for guidance purposes Downey says:

> In giving boys and girls vocational as well as educational advice one should know much of their temperament peculiarities. One needs above all to reckon with such things as aggressiveness, speed, interest in detail, perseveration. Large demands will be made upon applied psychology of temperament when once it succeeds in establishing itself.[2]

For various reasons Downey's tests have not been favorably received by psychologists. Certainly they are far from practicable as part of a program which should be attempted for all pupils in the school system. But they do constitute a significant early step in the effort to measure important aspects of human personality.

Tests of trustworthiness. An interesting attempt was made by Voelker[3] to measure certain character traits among boys who were mostly ten to fourteen years of age. He gave cleverly devised tests of truthfulness, honesty, reliability, persistence in carrying out instructions in spite of distractions, and other qualities, all of which he summed up as trustworthiness, to boys in Boy Scout troops, public schools, and private schools. In all, ten tests were given, in each of which the temptation to be untrustworthy in some respect was presented, with, apparently, no chance of discovery. Voelker's purpose, however, was not to develop tests of these qualities for general use but as an aid in determining whether trustworthiness is increased under definite training to that end such as is provided by the Boy Scout organi-

[1] JUNE DOWNEY, *The Will-temperament and Its Testing*, p. 60, Yonkers-on Hudson: World Book Company, 1923.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 307.

[3] PAUL FREDERICK VOELKER, *The Function of Ideals and Attitudes in Social Education*, Teachers College Contributions to Education, No. 122, New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1921.

zation, for example. No effort has been made, so far as the writer is aware, to use these tests for purposes of vocational guidance or placement, though they would appear to have such possibilities, except for the amount of work involved in giving them.

Tests for taxicab drivers. In an effort to reduce accidents among taxicab drivers of the Yellow Cab Company of Chicago by better methods of selection, Snow[1] developed and used tests for recklessness, carelessness, emotional instability, and lack of foresight. A resulting reduction in accidents is evidence of merit in the tests. Others have since carried this type of testing further but for promotion of safe driving by owners of automobiles, rather than for purposes of vocational selection.

The Allport Ascendance-Submission Reaction Study. As indicated by its title, this is an effort to discover the disposition of an individual to dominate his fellows or to be dominated by them. This A-S Reaction Study, as it is generally called,

> . . . presents a number of situations in each of which the subject is required to select one of a group of standardized responses which most nearly characterizes his usual behavior in that situation. Not all of the responses chosen will reveal an invariable ascendance or submission, for most people show *both* types of behavior at different times and under different circumstances. This study, however, has enough situations to detect which of these two types of reaction, if either, is the more characteristic; and the total score gives an expression of the dominance of the one or the other.[2]

Two forms of the A-S Reaction Study, one for men and one for women, were designed by the Allports for use with college students or recent graduates. A third form, prepared later by Beckman, is an adaptation of the original men's form for business use.

The Allports found that the median score on this test of 87 chain-store executives was +10; of 20 general managers in the same organization, +21; of 29 department heads and bureau chiefs of the city government of Cincinnati, +17.1; of 31 water

[1] A. J. Snow, "Tests for Chauffeurs," *Industrial Psychology*, I (January, 1926).

[2] R. O. Beckman, *The A-S Reaction Study*, Revision for Business Use, adapted from the original form of Gordon W. Allport and Floyd H. Allport, New York: Psychological Corporation, 1932.

meter readers, −0.9. Beckman reports that on the adapted form the median of 50 college juniors and seniors was −1, with a range of +29 to −35; the median of 110 managers of variety stores (chain) was +8, with a range of +44 to −26; the median of 20 junior executives in a public utility, +4.5, with a range of +23 to −8; and the median of nonexecutives in a public utility was −4, with a range of +14 to −23.

While results obtained indicate that the A-S Reaction Study scores have significance for vocational guidance, the authors themselves strongly urge that these scores be regarded as suggestive rather than conclusive, and stress the fact that many other items of information concerning the individual must be taken into account along with his A-S score.

The Bernreuter Personality Inventory. The purpose of the Bernreuter Personality Inventory is to measure several different aspects of personality at one time. The inventory consists of 125 personal questions before each of which the subject is expected to draw a circle around "yes," "no," or "?." "Do you daydream frequently?" and "Do people ever come to you for advice" are samples of the questions.

The six scales now available for application to the answers given by the subject are:

B1-N. A measure of neurotic tendency. Persons scoring high on this scale tend to be emotionally unstable. Those scoring above the 98 percentile would probably benefit from psychiatric or medical advice. Those scoring low tend to be very well balanced emotionally.

B2-S. A measure of self-sufficiency. Persons scoring high on this scale prefer to be alone, rarely ask for sympathy or encouragement, and tend to ignore the advice of others. Those scoring low dislike solitude and often seek advice and encouragement.

B3-I. A measure of introversion-extroversion. Persons scoring high on this scale tend to be introverted; that is, they are imaginative and tend to live within themselves. Scores above the 98 percentile bear the same significance as do similar scores on the B1-N scale. Those scoring low are extroverted; that is, they rarely worry, seldom suffer emotional upsets, and rarely substitute daydreaming for action.

B4-D. A measure of dominance-submission. Persons scoring high on this scale tend to dominate others in face to face situations. Those scoring low tend to be submissive.

F1-C. A measure of confidence in oneself. Persons scoring high on this scale tend to be hamperingly self-conscious and to have feelings of

inferiority; those scoring above the 98 percentile would probably benefit from psychiatric or medical advice. Those scoring low tend to be wholesomely self-confident and to be very well adjusted to their environment.

F2-S. A measure of sociability. Persons scoring high on this scale tend to be non-social, solitary, or independent. Those scoring low tend to be sociable and gregarious.[1]

Coefficients of reliability for each of the first four scales ranged from .85 to .92, as computed by their author. Also, he found a high correlation between scores obtained on the four parts of his inventory and tests of the same qualities by such psychologists as Thurstone, Laird, and the Allports.

Bernreuter reports that this inventory has been used successfully with high school students, college students, and adults. Others who have used it differ considerably in their estimate of its value for vocational guidance purposes. The University of Minnesota Employment Stabilization Research Institute reported that personality characteristics as measured by the Bernreuter Inventory do not differentiate clerical workers of various types from the general population.[2] On the other hand, the institute reported that class A factory workers, comprising about 3 per cent at the top of the hierarchy of skilled mechanics, appear to have a distinctive personality pattern, characterized by greater than average "self-sufficiency" and less than average "extroversion" and "stability," though the less skilled classes of factory workers, B, C, D, and E, comprising 97 per cent, show no striking differences as measured by the Bernreuter Personality Inventory.[3]

The Bell Adjustment Inventory.[4] As stated in the manual accompanying it, this self-administering adjustment inventory

[1] ROBERT G. BERNREUTER, *Manual for the Personality Inventory*, Stanford University, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1935.

[2] DOROTHY M. ANDREW and DONALD G. PATERSON, *Measured Characteristics of Clerical Workers*, University of Minnesota Employment Stabilization Research Institute Studies, Vol. III, No. 1, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1934.

[3] VERNE C. FRYKLUND, *The Selection and Training of Modern Factory Workers*, p. 15, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1934.

[4] HUGH M. BELL, *The Adjustment Inventory*, Stanford University, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1934.

provides four separate measures of personal and social adjustment:

a. Home Adjustment. Individuals scoring high tend to be unsatisfactorily adjusted to their home surroundings. Low scores indicate satisfactory home adjustment.

b. Health Adjustment. High scores indicate unsatisfactory health adjustment; low scores, satisfactory adjustment.

c. Social Adjustment. Individuals scoring high tend to be submissive and retiring in their social contacts. Individuals with low scores are aggressive in social contacts.

d. Emotional Adjustment. Individuals with high scores tend to be unstable emotionally. Persons with low scores tend to be emotionally stable.

The inventory consists of 140 questions to each of which the subject is asked to make response in the same manner as in case of the Bernreuter Personality Inventory. Sample questions are: (*a*) "Do you sometimes feel that your parents are disappointed in you?" (*b*) "Have you had considerable illness during the last ten years?" (*c*) "Did you ever take the lead to enliven a dull party?" (*d*) "Do you frequently have spells of the 'blues'?"

According to its author, the Personal Inventory has been successful when used with persons of high school and college age of both sexes. In general it has been favorably regarded by those who have used it.

Other tests and inventories in the field. One who is deeply interested in possible vocational guidance values of other efforts in this field should examine the Thurstone Neurotic Inventory, the Laird C2 Introversion Test, the Willoughby EM (Emotional Stability) Scale, the Woodworth-Wells Psychoneurotic Inventory, the Pressey X-O Test, the Neyman and Kohlstadt Introversion-Extroversion Test, and the Kent-Rosanoff Association Test.

Significance of personality inventories for vocational guidance. Words of caution on this point were sounded by Bingham several years ago when he said:

Caution is needed for two reasons: the low reliability of the individual measures, and the great flexibility or modifiability of many personalities. Temperament and habitual emotional attitude differ in these regards from intelligence, which remains roughly constant with the passage of

the years. The introvert cannot greatly alter his I.Q., but he sometimes outgrows his shyness, suppressions, his tendencies to reverie, his slowness to act. The extrovert may learn to meditate, to be more considerate, to check a natural abruptness to action.[1]

Even earlier Kitson pointed out that we do not yet have scientific proof that there are general traits like industriousness, aggressiveness, and the like, which can be measured and which express themselves equally pronouncedly in all the activities of the individual; nor are we justified in assuming that precisely these traits are those called for in certain specific vocations. He adds:

Perhaps they are. We cannot assert it, however, until we have measured a number of workers in different vocations and have discovered that successful lawyers, for example, stand higher with respect to the trait designated as "aggressiveness" than do unsuccessful lawyers, or persons in a vocation said to call for lack of aggressiveness.[2]

No doubt it is true, as Bingham says, that personality traits of many individuals are modified considerably with advancing years. Furthermore, as Kitson points out, the degree of industriousness or aggressiveness evidenced by an individual varies greatly in different activities. However, it still seems probable, from the evidence already available, that only in exceptional cases and usually in comparatively minor respects does the *total personality pattern* of most individuals change with advancing years or differ in different activities.

It seems reasonable to expect that, with growing interest in the subject on the part of psychologists, personality patterns of different occupational groups will be determined much more satisfactorily than at present. Therefore, while proceeding cautiously in the use of personality tests and inventories for vocational guidance purposes, vocational counselors and other personnel workers may look forward to more reliable objective measuring instruments of personality and to their wider use. Thus far no evidence has been presented which bars the possibility that personality patterns, or profiles, may not find at least

[1] Walter Van Dyke Bingham, "Personality and Vocation," *British Journal of Psychology*, XVI (1925–26), 361.

[2] Harry Dexter Kitson, *The Psychology of Vocational Adjustment*, p. 179, Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1925.

as large a place as interest patterns in future vocational guidance programs, even though determining personality patterns may well be a more complicated and difficult task.

PERSONALITY RATING SCALES

Nature of a personality rating scale. The efforts to measure aspects of personality that have just been considered are objective in nature. In a given situation any competent user of the measuring instrument should obtain the same result as any other competent user. Another and much more extensively used instrument for measuring personality traits is the rating scale. Everyone, consciously or unconsciously, forms opinions concerning the personality traits of those whom he knows well. These are, of course, purely subjective judgments, often colored favorably or unfavorably by chance circumstances. The personality rating scale is nothing more nor less than the result of efforts to systematize and refine this common practice of human beings to form subjective judgments concerning their fellows. The purpose is to obtain a reliable and useful estimate of an individual's personal qualities.

Types of rating scales. A well-known type is the numerical rating scale. The rater is asked to estimate the degree to which the person rated possesses each trait under consideration, and to indicate this on a numerical scale ranging from 1 to 3, or 1 to 5, or 1 to 7, or 1 to 10, 1 usually representing the lowest degree and 3, 5, 7, or 10, depending on the number of points in the scale, representing the highest degree. Sometimes a straight line takes the place of the numbers and the rater is asked to place a check mark at some point along this line. The names "linear" and "graphic" have both been applied to this type. In case of a third type, the rater is asked to arrange the group of people being rated in order of merit on each trait. A fourth type, the man-to-man rating scale, provides for comparison of the person who is being rated with three or five persons well known to the rater—one of whom possesses the particular trait to a low degree, another to a high degree, and the others to intermediate degrees.

Precautions in using rating scales. Experience with rating scales has indicated that a number of precautions need to be observed if they are to prove of greatest value.

1. It is obvious that the independent judgments of three or five people who know the rated person well are more reliable than the judgment of a single rater. In fact, some authorities say the number of raters should be three to eight, while others suggest five to ten in order that the composite result may have reliability. Schools that make use of personality rating scales, therefore, provide for ratings by several different people. Sometimes an average of the different ratings is computed and recorded.

2. Those who do the rating should have a common understanding of the traits on the scale. This calls for a clear definition of each trait. A good type of definition is one which states in specific terms how an individual behaves who possesses the particular trait in the highest degree and in the lowest degree represented on the scale. An illustration is found in the rating scale developed by Hughes in the schools of Pasadena, Calif. The highest rank in regularity-persistency is described as follows:

> Is found in the right place at the right time. Works regularly and on time. Completes job before leaving it. Perseveres even when making little progress. Holds tenaciously to worth-while purposes. Is generally consistent in thought and behavior.[1]

The lowest rank in the same quality is described in the following language:

> Is seldom found in right place at right time. Works sporadically. Habitually leaves job unfinished. Is discouraged by trifling obstacles. Is inconsistent in thought and behavior. Is conspicuous for procrastinating.[2]

The highest rank in cooperativeness carries this description:

> Participates extensively in the worthy group activities. Gives up own preferences when they interfere with the general good spirit and welfare of the group. Is extraordinarily fair-minded and generous. Is democratic. Does not expect special favors or privileges. Seems happy in his work and play with others. Is always ready to do his part in any legitimate cooperative undertaking.[3]

[1] W. Hardin Hughes, "A Rating Scale for Individual Capacities, Attitudes, and Interests," *Journal of Educational Method*, III (October, 1923), 60.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

These descriptions were later shortened, as will be noted by examining the later form of the scale found on page 225.

3. It is better to rate all individuals of a group on the first trait, then on the next, then on the next, until the job is finished than to rate each individual, one after the other, on all the traits. The former procedure gives greater accuracy and the rater usually finds it easier and less confusing.

4. The list of traits on a rating scale should be short and each item should be selected with great care. The Hughes list originally included twelve items. This was later reduced to seven—industry, accuracy, initiative, reliability, cooperation, leadership, and physical vitality.[1] Eurich and Wrenn state that from three to five traits is the accepted maximum for a good scale.[2]

5. No rater should be asked to rate every individual in a group on every trait on the rating scale. It should be understood that no judgment is expected unless the rater has had opportunity to form a fairly reliable judgment. This was provided for in the Pasadena scale by asking that only those teachers who have students in group activities rate them on cooperation and leadership.

Sample personality rating scales. The Hughes Graphic Rating Scale and the Personality Report form, prepared by the American Council on Education, are presented as illustrations. It will be noted that both of these are of the linear (sometimes called graphic) type, calling for a check mark on each trait by the rater. The Personality Report of the American Council provides, also, for the rater to record instances that support his judgment.

Personality ratings of students by their fellows. In some high schools each member of a home-room group, 30 or 40 in number, has been asked to rate every other member of the group on certain personality traits. If the matter is properly presented to the group valuable results are often obtained in this way.

[1] W. Hardin Hughes, "General Principles of Rating Trait Characteristics," *Pasadena Public Schools Educational Research Bulletin*, III, Nos. 5 and 6 (February and March, 1925).

[2] Alvin C. Eurich and C. Gilbert Wrenn, *Appraisal of Student Characteristics and Needs*, Thirty-seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I, Chap. II, p. 59, Bloomington, Ill.: Public School Publishing Company, 1938.

HUGHES GRAPHIC RATING SCALE[1]
For Habits, Attitudes, and Traits

Name.......... .... Date ....
Last First Middle Semester Year

MINIMUM RATING	AVERAGE	MAXIMUM
	Industry	
Works sporadically		Works regularly and on time
Seldom completes work		Habitually completes work
Uses time injudiciously		Makes judicious use of time
	Accuracy	
Expresses ideas inaccurately		Expresses ideas accurately
Does inexact work		Accomplishes exact work
Uses time injudiciously		Makes judicious use of time
	Initiative	
Succumbs to difficulties		Overcomes difficulties
Shows little curiosity		Shows intellectual curiosity
Seldom starts anything new		Initiates undertakings
	Reliability	
Neglects promises and obligations		Fulfills promises, obligations
Does not admit error when wrong		Admits error when shown wrong
Is undependable in word and deed		Is honest in word and deed
	Cooperation	
Avoids worthy group activities		Participates in worthy group activities
Seems unhappy in team work		Seems happy in team work
Does not subordinate self		Subordinates self to group
	Leadership	
Fails to secure support		Wins support for his cause
Prefers plans made by others		Plans for and directs others
Lessens enthusiasm of the group		Arouses enthusiasm in the group
	Physical Vitality	
Avoids vigorous activities		Active in vigorous activities
Exhibits little endurance		Exhibits endurance in continued effort
Possesses physically weak personality		Possesses forceful personality

Instructions: Keeping the definition of the trait in mind, rate the student between "Minimum" and "Maximum" by placing a check (✓) appropriately on the line. Try to locate the student according to his standing relative to the average for his age. The check may be placed anywhere on the line.

Person Rating................. .... School...............

[1] W. HARDIN HUGHES, "General Principles of Rating Trait Characteristics," *Pasadena Public Schools Educational Research Bulletin*, III, Nos. 5 and 6 (February and March, 1925).

REVISION A, MAY 9, 1929
AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION
744 JACKSON PLACE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

PERSONALITY REPORT

The information on this sheet is confidential

Name of student . ...Name of institution.... . ...

Please return this sheet to ....

Selection and guidance of students are based on scholastic records of achievement, health and other factual records. Personality, difficult to evaluate, is of great importance. You will greatly assist in the education of the student named if you will rate him with respect to each question by placing a check mark on the appropriate horizontal line at any point which represents your evaluation of the candidate.

If you have had no opportunity to observe the student with respect to a given characteristic, please place a check mark in the space at the extreme right of the line.

In the rectangle below each rating scale please describe briefly and concretely significant performances and attitudes which support your judgment and which you yourself have observed.

Let your statements answer specifically the questions of the rating scale by showing how the student manifested the qualities mentioned.

Do not be satisfied with the statement of an opinion concerning matters of fact, if the facts themselves can be presented.

Select those illustrations of conduct which are consistent with the personality of the student as you have observed and understood it.

Bear in mind that from as many accurate observers as possible the college desires to secure concrete descriptions of the student's personality as exhibited in many situations and that the purpose is an understanding of the student's personality as a whole so that he and all concerned with his education may guide his development to the highest.

The following items illustrate the way in which observers have reported evidence in support of their checking of the highest answer to the second question (B):

Of a college senior: "In my course in Elizabethan drama he voluntarily built to scale models of the Blackfriars Theater and the Fortune Theater based on the work of Chambers, Albright and others and demonstrated Elizabethan methods of staging several of the plays read."

Of a college senior: "Independently collected and classified correctly one hundred type specimens of fossils found in the neighborhood of the college."

Of an eighth grade boy: "Finding in English assignment, the introduction to Burns' 'The Cotter's Saturday Night,' a reference to Robert Fergusson's 'The Farmer's Ingle' as a possible inspiration of Burns' poem, he looked up Fergusson's poem in the home library and compared it with that of Burns. At the same time, desiring to read Burns in the Scottish way he mastered the phonetic system of Sir James Wilson's 'The Dialect of Robert Burns as spoken in Central Ayrshire' which he also found in the home library, and so interested the boys of his class in the pronunciation of Scottish words that even at the end of the year the lads still called each other by appropriate Scottish nicknames and used Scotticisms which they found in Burns and Wilson."

"At the age of eleven began collecting diatoms from local ponds and streams and studying their forms under his own microscope. Now possesses collection of microscope slides, including some presented to him by scientists in Department of Agriculture and Carnegie Institution, specimens collected by Shackleton, Scott and other expeditions."

How well do you know this student?..

....

....

....

Signature Date Position Address

Name of student . ...

A. How are you and others affected by his appearance and manner?	Avoided by others	Tolerated by others	Liked by others	Well liked by others	Sought by others	No opportunity to observe ____

Please record here instances that support your judgment.

B. Does he need constant prodding or does he go ahead with his work without being told?	Needs much prodding in doing ordinary assignments	Needs occasional prodding	Does ordinary assignments of his own accord	Completes suggested supplementary work	Seeks and sets for himself additional tasks	____

Please record here instances that support your judgment.

C. Does he get others to do what he wishes?	Probably unable to lead his fellows	Lets others take lead	Sometimes leads in minor affairs	Sometimes leads in important affairs	Displays marked ability to lead his fellows; makes things go	____

Please record here instances that support your judgment.

D. How does he control his emotions?	Too easily moved to anger or fits of depression, etc.	Tends to be over emotional	Usually well balanced	Well balanced	Unusual balance of responsiveness and control	____
	Unresponsive, apathetic	Tends to be unresponsive				

Please record here instances that support your judgment

E. Has he a program with definite purposes in terms of which he distributes his time and energy?	Aimless trifler	Aims just to "get by"	Has vaguely formed objectives	Directs energies effectively with fairly definite program	Engrossed in realizing well formulated objectives	____

Please record here instances that support your judgment.

While the raters lack maturity they usually know each other much better than their teachers know them. Also, the large number of ratings helps to assure reliability of the composite result. Of course, the same precautions need to be observed as when teachers do the rating.

This method of obtaining estimates of personality traits of high school pupils was used recently by two of the author's graduate students[1] who were making case studies of the 25 highest in intelligence and the 25 lowest in intelligence, as measured by the Detroit Alpha Intelligence Tests, in a school of 350 pupils. All pupils in the school were rated by their fellow home-room members on seven traits and composite ratings for each pupil were made, but this report concerns only the 50 mentioned above. The following table gives the distribution of the composite ratings for the two groups on each of the traits:

COMPARISON OF PUPIL PERSONALITY RATINGS OF SUPERIOR AND DULL GROUPS*

Personality traits	High		Good		Fair		Poor	
	Superior group	Dull group	Superior group	Dull group	Superior group	Dull group	Superior group	Dull group
Industry	14	1	9	8	2	11	0	5
Cooperation	9	0	13	10	3	12	0	3
Courtesy	7	0	15	16	3	7	0	2
Leadership	9	0	8	6	7	10	1	9
Self-reliance	13	0	7	12	5	8	0	5
Dependability	11	0	13	14	1	10	0	1
Likableness	7	2	11	17	7	6	0	0
Total	70	3	76	83	28	64	1	25

* CLARENCE E. HINCHEY, "A Study of Twenty-five Dull Children in a Senior High School," unpublished master's thesis, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1935.

Self-ratings on personality traits. Attention was given in an earlier chapter to self-analysis as a means of aiding an individual

[1] DOROTHEA E. ELBING, "A Study of Twenty-five Superior Children in a Senior High School," unpublished master's thesis, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1935.

CLARENCE E. HINCHEY, "A Study of Twenty-five Dull Children in a Senior High School," unpublished master's thesis, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1935.

to understand himself, and sample forms used for this purpose were presented. These forms call for the individual's estimate of himself as regards several important aspects of personality. Such self-ratings, if available to the pupil's counselor, are often quite valuable for use in arriving at an understanding of the pupil's personality, especially when considered along with the same pupil's ratings by teachers or fellow pupils. It may be better in some instances to have the pupil turn in a rating on himself on the same scale that teachers of the school use in rating pupils, rather than to depend upon the longer self-analysis form which is designed primarily for another purpose.

Usefulness of personality rating scales and tests compared. It must be remembered that a rating on aspects of personality, however refined the methods of obtaining it may be, is still subjective in character. A reliable and valid objective measure is always to be preferred. However, adequate objective measures in this field are not yet available, as has been noted. Moreover, there are difficulties in using such as are available with large numbers of pupils. It seems likely that much time will elapse before such measures come into general use in the schools. On the other hand, good rating scales are available and can be used in schools without serious difficulties. Since a careful estimate is better than no measure at all, it seems likely that, for some time at least, rating scales will play a larger part than tests in providing the data concerning personality traits which are needed for use in vocational guidance.

Social Environment Data

However complete and accurate the information may be which is brought together concerning an individual as a result of tests, inventories, scales, and other measuring instruments, it is still desirable to obtain considerable data concerning his social environment. On the one hand, these data are a valuable aid to the counselor in understanding and interpreting the data from other sources. On the other hand, they themselves give important suggestions as to what may be expected of the individual in the future. What he will do in a particular situation, in fact whether he should do this or that, often depends upon conditions that belong to his social environment. And this holds true in matters of vocational planning as well as in those of other kinds of plan-

ning. Also, in view of the present limitations on the completeness and reliability of the other types of information available in most schools, it is particularly desirable to give careful attention to social environment data, which may be obtained fairly easily in any community.

Data concerning the home. When one undertakes to list items concerning an individual pupil's social environment that have significance in relation to that pupil's vocational plans, the first group of items to claim attention concerns his home. Are the father and mother both living? Are they living together? How many older brothers are there in the family? Older sisters? Younger brothers? Younger sisters? What is the father's occupation? If the mother is employed outside the home, what is her occupation? Are any brothers or sisters employed? If so, what is their work? What are the occupations of uncles and aunts? Is there any "hereditary" occupation in the family? What is the general education of the father? Of the mother? What special vocational education has each of the parents had? How active are the parents in community affairs? In what kinds of community affairs are they active? What educational plans have the parents for the pupil in question? What vocational plans, if any? Are they in position to finance these plans or others that may be made? If not fully, to what extent?

The Sims Score Card for Socio-economic Status,[1] designed for use with pupils of grades 4 to 12 inclusive, is used by some schools for the purpose of obtaining certain significant data concerning the home environment of pupils.

Data concerning the pupil's associations outside the home. The general type of neighborhood in which the pupil lives and finds his companions is an item which may exercise greater influence on his interests and personality traits than is generally realized. It may, also, have supplied him with information, accurate or inaccurate, favorable or unfavorable, concerning certain occupations. The author's attention was called some time ago to a boy of high I.Q. whose father was a production worker in an automobile factory and whose associates were sons of

[1] VERNOR L. SIMS, *Manual of Directions for the Sims Score Card for Socio-economic Status*, Bloomington, Ill.: Public School Publishing Company, 1927.

fathers engaged in the same type of work. In this case both home influences and neighborhood influences tended to restrict the boy's vocational outlook. Possessing sufficient intelligence for any kind of occupation, he was planning to become a machinist, a job which production workers generally consider more desirable than their own—a higher level occupation. Apparently the boy's environment had influenced him against production work in favor of the work of a machinist. Perhaps his choice was wise, but if the neighborhood occupational horizon had been broader he might very well have developed an interest in some other occupation above the production worker's level.

The clubs, "gangs," societies, and other neighborhood and school organizations of which the pupil is or has been a member, and the general characteristics of his friends and cronies should be taken into account, also. It is generally recognized that these are important influences in the development of interests and of certain personality traits. Sometimes the interests are wholesome and the character traits desirable and sometimes they are quite the reverse. In either case membership in the organization and personal friends are significant items for use in vocational counseling. Such an organization as the Boy Scouts, for example, features discovery of aptitudes and development of vocational and avocational interests by means of a program that is definitely planned for this purpose, as well as to contribute to health and character in its members.

The pupil's recreations of all kinds deserve attention also. The amount and character of his voluntary reading; the type, extent, and environment of his social activities; his amusements—theaters, movies, concerts, sport contests, and the like; and his physical recreations such as tennis, golf, baseball, swimming, and hiking, come into the picture if it is to be complete.

Closely related to his recreations is the traveling he has done. Where has he been? Especially, what sort of things impressed him most? Was his interest strongest in the habits and customs of the people, the social, economic, and political problems, the industrial plants, the natural scenery, the historical objects, or in some other special feature of the places visited? What impresses one in the varying environment of travel often gives a clue to his vocational interests.

Achievement Data

The physical and psychological characteristics of the individual pupil and the more significant environmental influences which affect him having been noted, his achievements next deserve consideration. What has he done?

Achievements in school subjects. The pupil's accomplishments in his school subjects have, of course, long been matters of much concern to school authorities. Great care is taken to preserve marks filed at the end of each term for their pupils by teachers of the various subjects. Since these marks become permanent records of the achievements of pupils in the subjects pursued, it is obvious that every reasonable effort should be made to ensure their reliability.

Reliability of school grades. It must be admitted that in many school systems more thought has been given to preservation of marks than to making sure that they are fair measures of pupil achievement. As a matter of fact, it has been shown that a teacher's marks often represent, not pupil achievement only, but also the teacher's estimate of native ability, effort, attitude, and other things, including even what students call "apple polishing." It must also be kept in mind that standards of different teachers in marking their pupils differ greatly. It has happened that the same examination paper was marked A by one teacher and D by another teacher of the same subject.

Moreover, it should not be forgotten that a single mark covering an entire semester's work does not always fairly represent the work actually done by the pupil. This is true especially in such subjects as general shop, which may be made up of several units such as woodwork, sheet-metal work, machine-shop work, and electrical work. A pupil may deserve a poor or average mark on every unit except one, say electrical work, and an A on that one unit. The same thing may happen in physics with its several parts or units dealing with heat, light, sound, electricity, etc., and also in general science.

Facts of this kind, which are of great significance for vocational guidance, are lost in an average grade for the semester. To be sure, a pupil's complete set of marks in school subjects to date, including elementary and high school work, is much more reliable than his mark in a single subject, since the marks of many

teachers are involved. A counselor is interested in a pupil's total subject marks as well as in those of particular subjects.

One effort in the direction of obtaining greater reliability in pupils' marks has been to require teachers to rate effort, interest, attitude, neatness, etc., independently of accomplishment. Even then most teachers find it difficult to prevent personality impressions from influencing subject grades.

Standardized achievement tests. Standardized objective tests on material covered in school subjects have contributed much, and no doubt will contribute much more, to reliability of grades or marks in the various subjects. In fact, no better single way of making school marks mean what they are supposed to mean is available, if the tests are used properly. No more carefully prepared tests of this type are available than the Cooperative Achievement Tests designed for high school and college classes by the Cooperative Test Service of the American Council on Education.[1] The efforts of specialists in subject fields and experts in test construction have been combined in the preparation of these tests. A wide range of high school subjects is covered, including English, French, German, Spanish, Italian, Latin, algebra, plane geometry, solid geometry, trigonometry, mathematics for grades 7, 8, and 9, general science, biology, physics, chemistry, botany, zoology, social studies, American history, ancient history, modern European history, economics, and others. Within each of several subject fields special aspects of the work are covered by separate tests. For example, in the field of English, tests are available in mechanics of expression, effectiveness of expression, reading comprehension, vocabulary, literary acquaintance, and literary comprehension, as well as in combinations of certain of these aspects of high school English work.

In addition to the Cooperative and other well-known tests of this type in individual school subjects, are single tests which are designed to measure achievement in a group of subjects. One of the best known of the latter is the Stanford Achievement Test: Form Z.[2] This test is planned for grades 4 to 9. Ten items in

[1] *The Cooperative Achievement Tests: A Handbook Describing Their Purpose, Content, and Interpretation*, New York: Cooperative Test Service of the American Council on Education, 1940.

[2] TRUMAN L. KELLY, GILES M. RUCH, and LEWIS M. TERMAN, *Stanford Achievement Test*, Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Company, 1932.

all—paragraph meaning, word meaning, dictation, language use, literature, history and civics, geography, physiology and hygiene, arithmetic reasoning and arithmetic computation—are included.

A similar test on a higher level is the Sones-Harry High School Achievement Test. Its authors stress the value of this test in educational and vocational guidance of secondary school students or college freshman. "The test covers the four fields usually required of students in the secondary school; namely, Language and Literature, Mathematics, Natural Science, and Social Studies. . . . The range of difficulty of the test is sufficient to measure reliably from Grade 9B to groups of practice teachers in the senior year of college."[1]

The Iowa High School Content Examination[2] is another test of this type which is given by many higher educational institutions to freshmen entering college. This test covers the four fields of English, mathematics, science, and history and the social sciences.

It is obvious that scores made on well-chosen standardized tests of achievement in school subjects constitute valuable data for vocational guidance purposes. However, it should always be kept in mind that such scores must be considered in connection with all the other data available. Achievement tests do not measure development of critical thinking or of ability to cooperate with others, for example, as has been pointed out by Eurich.[3] They are designed to measure achievement only.

Occupational Proficiency Tests

An occupational proficiency test, as the name implies, is for the purpose of determining an individual's ability to perform the work of a specific occupation. Training for and experience in the occupation are assumed, and the test is designed to measure the results of these or to find out what stage of progress the individual has achieved. In a guidance program this type of

[1] W. W. D. Sones and David P. Harry, Jr., *Manual of Directions for the Sones-Harry High School Achievement Test*, pp. 2–3, Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Company, 1929.

[2] G. M. Ruch, G. U. Cleeton, and G. D. Stoddard, *Iowa High School Content Examination*, Iowa City: Bureau of Educational Research and Service, University of Iowa, 1925.

[3] Alvin C. Eurich, "A Changed Conception of Evaluation," *California Journal of Secondary Education*, XIV (October, 1939), 332.

test has its greatest value as an aid to the placement officer in deciding whether a pupil shall be recommended for a particular position requiring known standards of proficiency. Tests of this type are valuable, also, in determining when a pupil in training for an occupation has mastered particular units of that occupation.

In a sense all tests given by vocational teachers to their pupils are tests of occupational proficiency. The teacher in giving a test seeks to find out what the pupil can do in the occupation for which he is preparing. But vocational teachers, like all others, differ as to standards of attainment which should be expected upon completion of a given course of training, and differ still more in the tests they devise for measuring this attainment. They differ also in the way they rate the work done by a pupil both throughout the course and in the tests given. On these accounts the placement officer knows very little as to the actual vocational proficiency of pupils who come to him for assistance in finding employment, even though he has their ratings by vocational teachers. In this situation the need for standardized occupational tests which can be rated objectively is very apparent.

A number of individuals have constructed and used tests of this character, and in some instances efforts have been made to extend the use and gain general acceptance of these tests. Especially has this been true in the case of stenography and typewriting. Among the best known tests of proficiency in these subjects are those of Bills, Burt, Cody, Hoke, O'Rourke, and Thurstone. One of the most recent of these and generally considered one of the best deserves brief description here.

The Typist and Stenographer Examinations of the U.S. Civil Service Commission. These were prepared by O'Rourke and his assistants. Tests in typing from plain copy, typing from rough draft, and taking and transcribing dictation are included. In addition, a 75-minute general test is given which is designed to measure the adaptability, mental alertness, and knowledge needed by typists and stenographers. Commenting on these examinations, Bingham says:

> The three tests of proficiency in typing and stenography, with the accompanying tables of norms, enable a teacher to ascertain which ones of his students have reached the standards of performance required in business firms and in government offices; while the General Test

serves to measure a student's aptitude for clerical work and indicates in a general way the level of clerical employment to which he is suited.[1]

The army trade tests. The most comprehensive undertaking in the construction of occupational proficiency tests is found in the trade tests devised by the War Department of the United States government during the First World War.[2] In filling out the required blanks when he entered the army, each man was called upon to state his previous occupation. As workmen were needed for the different trades, men were selected and assigned upon the basis of these statements. It was soon found that men who had given their previous employment as electrician, for example, ranged all the way from novices to expert electricians. It became necessary to classify those who called themselves electricians, and those who professed other trades as well, so that when a worker of any grade was needed he could be selected at once. This gave rise to the trade tests by means of which four grades of workers were differentiated: novices who possessed practically no trade knowledge or skill; apprentices who showed a fair degree of proficiency in the trade; journeymen who could be relied upon to perform ordinary trade jobs satisfactorily; and expert workers who could be expected to meet any emergency in their field.

Three forms of tests were developed for each of 83 trades. Psychologists, engineers, trade teachers, and expert trade workers cooperated in their preparation. One form, the oral trade tests, consisted of a series of 15 to 20 carefully chosen questions concerning materials, tools, machines, and processes used in the trade, how these are used, and the principles underlying their use. The questions, requiring very brief answers (often a single word), were such that only a workman who had had extensive experience in the trade could make a high score in the test.

The second form of test, the picture trade test, consisted of an equally careful selection of pictures of tools, machines, and processes of the trade, which were shown one after the other to the subject. When a picture was shown the examiner asked a question about it which the subject was expected to answer

[1] Walter Van Dyke Bingham, *Aptitudes and Aptitude Testing*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1937, p. 157.

[2] J. Crosby Chapman, *Trade Tests*, New York: Henry Holt & Company, Inc., 1921.

promptly. It was believed that some trade workers would do better on this test than on the former for the reason that pictures make it easier for them to recall the actual work of the trade than do the oral questions.

The third form of test used was an actual performance test. This consisted of having the candidate do certain typical jobs of the occupation, and grading him carefully on each part of the work done. For example, a man taking the test for truck driver was directed, among other things, to drive forward through an S-shaped curve, drive backward through the same curve, drive into a blind street on a hill and turn around without backing any more than necessary, and back up to a platform as if he were going to load his truck. Stakes 5 feet apart were placed on each side of the driveway and the number of stakes knocked over was taken into account in making up the driver's score. Other items taken into account were racing engine when starting or shifting, abrupt start, grinding of gears in shifting, jerky driving, unnecessary stopping of truck, more than one backing to reach platform, stalling engine, etc. To be sure, few occupations lend themselves as readily as truck driving to this form of test. In most skilled trades it is impossible to select a few jobs which can be completed in a reasonable length of time and which are so typical of the trade as a whole as to indicate general trade proficiency.

The practicability of occupational proficiency tests in the schools. The development and use of standardized objective tests of occupational proficiency suitable for use in rating those who pursue any kind of vocational preparatory training in public schools seems entirely practicable, even though little progress in this direction has yet been made. If necessary, much more time could be used in giving these tests under school conditions than was possible in the case of the army trade tests. Until recently the most serious difficulty has been that there was no agency which had the organization necessary to prepare the tests and the prestige necessary to bring about their general acceptance and use. With the organization of the U.S. Employment Service, this difficulty has been removed. The Division of Standards and Research of that service has been engaged for some time in preparing and standardizing oral trade questions for use in federal-state employment offices throughout the country. It is to be hoped that the same agency will extend its work to include

performance tests, also. Schools engaged in vocational education should find these tests very useful in the placement of their graduates.

However, it must not be forgotten that occupational proficiency tests measure only present proficiency. Taken alone, they give no indication of the candidate's possible improvement in the occupation in the future. The length of time he has spent in preparation for the occupation, his intelligence, any special aptitude he has shown, and such personal qualities as ambition, persistence, initiative, and carefulness should be taken into account in estimating the candidate's future possibilities in the occupation.

Achievements in other school activities. No picture of what a pupil has done is at all adequate without taking account of his so-called "extracurricular activities." Attention was given in a previous chapter to the value of these as means of aiding pupils to make an inventory of their own assets and liabilities. Here we are concerned with their value to the school in its counseling of pupils. What the pupil does in connection with his school but outside his studies is often more revealing of aptitudes, interests, and personality traits than his entire school program. In what kinds of activities has he participated: artistic, athletic, civic, dramatic, forensic, journalistic, literary, mechanical, musical, scientific, social? What type of work did he do? For example, if he took part in school plays was he actor, stage manager, or business manager? What was the general quality of his work in each activity that claimed his interest? What school offices has he held? Was he a leader or a follower? What other personality traits marked his participation? It is obvious that if such data are to be of greatest value in vocational counseling much better methods of collecting them and of assuring their reliability must be developed than are in vogue at present.

Achievements in out-of-school activities. What the pupil has done and is now doing in his home, in nonschool clubs and other organizations, and in activities of an individualistic type deserve consideration, also. Does the girl have home responsibilities such as caring for younger children, preparing meals, repairing clothing, keeping the house in order? Does she take private lessons in music, art, or dancing? Of what organizations is she now or has she been a member? What offices has she held?

What has she done through hobby activities? Does the boy have any regular chores at home? Does he have a workshop? What has he made outside the school shops? Has he a postage-stamp or other collection? What organization memberships and offices has he had? What kind of private instruction, if any, has he received? What work for wages, if any, has either boy or girl done? And, of course, whatever reliable information can be obtained concerning the quality of performance in the various activities is desirable. It is quite possible that a pupil who has done poorly in schoolwork has done something noteworthy outside of school that is quite significant for vocational guidance purposes.

Data Concerning the Individual's Educational and Vocational Plans

Mention was made earlier of the need for knowing what plans parents cherish with reference to the education and future vocations of their children. It is even more important to know what the pupil himself is planning, and why, even though plans of pupil and parents agree. In case of the junior high school pupil, does he expect to enter senior high school? What curriculum does he expect to pursue? Has he thought seriously of any particular occupation that he would like to follow? If so, what is it? Why does he favor this occupation? What plan has he for obtaining the needed preparation? What other occupations, if any, interest him?

If the pupil is in the senior high school, similar information will be needed. But in this case new questions arise. Does the pupil expect to graduate from high school? Does he plan to go to work when he leaves high school, either before or at graduation? If so, what kind of work does he hope to do? Does he expect this to be permanent or temporary? What does he hope to do permanently? What preparation for this work is he planning to obtain while in high school? What are his plans for further preparation after leaving high school? If he expects to go to college, what type of college has he in mind? Why? What occupation does he expect to follow? What preparation does he plan to make for it and in what special or professional educational institution? If no occupation has been chosen, what ones are being considered? Other questions may need to be added to

the list. If a vocational counselor is to be genuinely helpful to a pupil he must be well informed concerning that pupil's ambitions and plans.

Recording the Data Collected

Throughout the rather lengthy discussion of the Personal Data Collecting Service, reference has been made again and again to the value of this service in counseling and other guidance services. The effort throughout has been to ascertain what facts concerning the individual pupil are desirable and how these should be obtained in order that vocational counseling, placement, and follow-up may be effective. Obviously these facts must be recorded in readily accessible and understandable form if they are to serve the purpose for which they were assembled.

Procedure in preparing suitable record forms. Since there is no object in recording data that will not be used, the first step in preparing suitable record forms for any school system is to determine what facts can be used advantageously. This will differ in different school systems, according especially to the provision made for vocational guidance. For this reason the use of standard forms has not worked out very well, though many valuable suggestions, both as to items and arrangement, can be obtained from these forms. It is suggested that some such list of data as is given in this book under the discussions of general data, physical data, psychological data, social environment data, achievement data, and data concerning the individual's educational and vocational plans be checked through with care in the light of local conditions and such items be selected as local conditions and the proposed local program warrant. Items from forms used in other cities or items suggested by peculiar local needs may be added to the list if desired. A record of counseling interviews and of adjustments of the pupil's program should be included, also. In preparing this list it should be kept in mind that comprehensive data are absolutely essential to an adequate program of vocational guidance.

The next step is to arrange the form for the individual pupil's permanent cumulative record. This form may be printed on a card or on a folder. The tendency in recent years has been to regard the standard folder, 9 by 12 inches, as more satisfactory, and to have it planned for the four, six, or eight years of

the secondary school period. If a folder is used, the pupil's record from elementary school, which should be cumulative, is usually filed in it. Also, any correspondence with the pupil's parents, anecdotal material concerning the pupil sent in by teachers, and other information that is useful in understanding the pupil but does not need to be placed on the permanent record form would naturally find their way to this file.

A third step is to prepare blank forms for use in gathering from various sources the information that is to be placed on the permanent record form. Some of these will be forms for reports on groups of pupils—semester reports on the scholastic records of the various classes, reports on group tests of general intelligence, personality ratings on their groups of pupils by home-room or subject teachers, and the like. Other forms will provide for individual reports such as those on physical examinations, psychiatric examinations, and individual intelligence tests. Again, the number and kinds of forms will be determined by local conditions and by the nature and extent of the vocational guidance program.

The cumulative record folder of the American Council on Education. One of the most carefully planned and complete cumulative record forms for secondary schools is that prepared some years ago by the American Council on Education. This form is printed on both sides of a sheet of cardboard 11½ by 17½ inches, folded once to give four pages. The first three pages are reproduced on pp. 242–244. The fourth page, devoted to Notes, is not shown.

SUMMARY

Intelligence tests and special aptitude tests indicate better what one *can* do than what one *will* do. Drive, emotional stability, initiative, ambition, disposition, and other personality characteristics also are important items to be considered in choosing a vocation both because they indicate how effectively the individual will probably use whatever intelligence and aptitudes he possesses, and because occupations differ decidedly in respect to their personality requirements.

Efforts to measure personality traits by means of tests have covered such items as will-temperament, trustworthiness, neurotic tendency, self-sufficiency, introversion-extroversion, dominance-

1						M F	W C
LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	MIDDLE NAME	RELIGION	DATE AND PLACE OF BIRTH		SEX	COLOR
2 YEAR							
GRADE ACHIEVED / ATTENDED							
4 AGE MENTAL							
CHRON							

5	PERCENTILES	GRADES	1 ELEM SCH RECORD	2	3 J F M	4 A M J	5 J A S	6 O N D	7 J F M	8 A M J	9 J A S	10 O N D	11 J F M	12 A M J	13 J A S	14 O N D	15 J F M	16 A M J	17 J A S	18 O N D	19 J F M	20 A M J	21 J A S	22 O N D	23 J F M	24 A M J	25 J A S	26 O N D	27 J F M	28 A M J	29 J A S	30 O N D
6		A																														
7	98	A−																														
8	93	95 B+																														
9	84	90 B																														
10	69	B− 85 C+																														
11	50	80 C																														
12	31	75 C−																														
13	16	70 D																														
14	7	65 F																														
15	2	F																														

ACHIEVEMENT TESTS AND SCHOOL MARKS
● STANDARDIZED TESTS ○ LETTER GRADES
● LOCAL PERCENTILES ● HEIGHT AND WEIGHT

PHOTO

16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23 STUDIES, CREDITS, GRADES
24 DISCIPLINE
25 COUNSELORS
26 NAMES AND TYPES OF SCHOOLS
27 REASONS FOR LEAVING
28 NUMBER OF DAYS ABSENT

29 YEAR															
30 AGE															
31 NOTABLE ACCOMPLISHMENTS UNUSUAL EXPERIENCES															
32 CLUBS, OFFICES															
33 EXTRA CURRICULUM EXPERIENCES — ATHLETIC															
34 EXTRA CURRICULUM EXPERIENCES — HOURS A WEEK															
35 EXTRA CURRICULUM EXPERIENCES — NON-ATHLETIC															
36 EXTRA CURRICULUM EXPERIENCES — HOURS A WEEK															
37 VOCATIONAL EXPERIENCES — TYPE AND DURATION															
38															
39 VOCATIONAL EXPERIENCES — WEEKLY PAY															
40 VOCATIONAL EXPERIENCES — HOURS A WEEK															
41 SUPPORT OF SELF AND DEPENDENTS															
42 LOANS AND SCHOLARSHIPS															
43 STUDY CONDITIONS AND HOURS OF STUDY A WEEK															
44 SUMMER EXPERIENCES															
45 EDUCATIONAL PLANS															
46 EDUCATIONAL SUGGESTIONS															
47 VOCATIONAL AND PROFESSIONAL PREFERENCES															
48 INTERESTS REPORTED															
49 PHYSICAL DISABILITIES															
50 HEALTH															
51 MENTAL HEALTH															
52 SOCIAL ADJUSTMENTS AND HOME CONDITIONS															
53 COMMUTING TIME HOURS A WEEK															

54	STUDENTS ADDRESSES H=HOME S=SCHOOL T=TELEPHONE	
55	PERSONALITY RATINGS	+2
56		+1
57		0
58		−1
59		−2
60	PERSONALITY MEASUREMENTS NAMES OF TESTS USED	

	NAME	HEALTH	RELIGION	DECEASED DATE	PLACE OF BIRTH	ARRIVED IN U S DATE	EDUCATION DEGREE AND KIND	OCCUPATIONS	ADDRESSES	TEL.
61	FATHER									
62	MOTHER									
63	STEP PARENT									
64	GUARDIAN									

65	A BOYS IN FAMILY	AGE	LIVING AT HOME	SCHOOLING	OCCUPATION	B GIRLS IN FAMILY	AGE	LIVING AT HOME	SCHOOLING	OCCUPATION

C LANGUAGE SPOKEN IN THE HOME	BEFORE 10	AFTER 10	E IF PARENTS ARE SEPARATED GIVE DATE
D TYPE OF HOME COMMUNITY	BEFORE 10	AFTER 10	

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION CUMMULATIVE RECORD FOLDER FOR SCHOOL STUDENTS. (PROVISIONAL FORM)

submission, self-confidence, sociability, and others. Caution is necessary in using results of these tests. No doubt personality traits of many individuals are modified considerably with advancing years. The degree to which one gives evidence of a particular trait varies in different activities. More information is needed concerning the extent to which different occupations demand particular personality traits. More and better tests in this field are needed. The cost of time and money in giving and scoring the tests is an important item affecting their practicability for school use. It is probable that the *total personality pattern* of most individuals is relatively stable. Also personality requirements of different occupations will be determined more satisfactorily than at present. It seems quite possible that individual personality patterns, or profiles, will find at least as large a place as interest patterns in future vocational guidance programs.

At the present time rating scales are used much more widely than tests in measuring personality traits. Numerical, linear, and man-to-man rating scales are the most common types. Important precautions are that several persons who know the subject well should do the rating; raters should have as nearly as possible a common understanding of the traits involved; all individuals of the group concerned should be rated on the first trait, then all on the second, etc.; the list of traits should be relatively short and selected with great care. The rating of pupils by their fellows as well as by teachers is practiced in some schools. Self-ratings by the pupils, using the same scale used by the teachers and fellow pupils, is sometimes combined with the above. Though open to all of the weaknesses of subjective judgments, personality rating scales when proper precautions are observed will continue to be a valuable asset to the vocational counselor. He will wisely use them with discrimination and with due regard for all the other data available.

Needed social environment data includes information concerning the individual's home; his associations outside the home—his companions, the neighborhood and school organizations of which he is or has been a member, etc.; his recreations; the traveling he has done and the things that interested him most in his travels.

Among the principal items of achievement data that should be brought together for vocational guidance purposes are, of course,

the pupil's records in school subjects, with care exercised that these shall be as reliable as possible. Standardized subject and occupational proficiency tests improve the reliability of such records. However, it must be recognized that these tests at their best measure only present proficiency, not possibilities of improvement. Achievements in extracurricular activities and out-of-school activities, including any work that the individual has done also belong in the picture. The question to be answered by these data is: What has he done that may be significant in planning his vocation?

Finally, data are necessary concerning the individual's educational and vocational plans. How long does he expect to remain in the school he is now attending? What curriculum and what subjects does he expect to pursue? What kind of higher educational institution does he plan to enter and why? Has he chosen an occupation? If so, what is it and how does he expect to prepare for it? This is the type of question that calls for attention here.

Suitable record forms are, of course, necessary in order that all of the various kinds and items of data discussed in the last three chapters may be available for ready use in counseling. These forms, prepared in accordance with accepted principles, should fit the vocational guidance program of the particular school system in which they are used.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE VOCATIONAL COUNSELING SERVICE

The oldest service of vocational guidance in the school is vocational counseling. Wherever the relationship of teacher and pupil exists there is found a setting for questions and suggestions concerning the pupil's future occupation. Often throughout the history of organized education, this setting has resulted in the teacher's giving the pupil definite counsel as to his career. Especially has this been true in case of pupils in the period of adolescence. The head of the school even more than class teachers has felt called upon occasionally to give vocational counsel to individual pupils.

Counseling incidental and unscientific in the past. Nevertheless, comparatively few men and women today can trace their choices of occupation to the influence of a teacher's or principal's advice or help. On the one hand many, probably a great majority of those who make up the adult population of today, never were counseled in regard to vocational plans by teacher or principal. Only a pupil now and then, when conditions were favorable, has had this experience in past decades. Vocational counseling until very recently was quite unsystematic and unplanned. Moreover, such counseling was unscientific in character, often colored by prejudice, and nearly always based upon meager knowledge of occupations and of the qualities and special aptitudes of the one counseled. In fact, these conditions still prevail in most schools.

Efforts to make counseling a regular school function. In the last few years efforts have been made in many city school systems to organize vocational counseling in a more scientific manner. In all parts of the country will be found junior high schools, senior high schools, and four-year high schools in which one or more members of the staff are known as counselors or vocational counselors. A report on this subject for the year ending June 30, 1938, covering 23,032 public secondary schools from which the

U.S. Office of Education obtains data every two years, indicated that 2,286 persons were then devoting one-half or more of their time to counseling students in these schools. Only two states and the District of Columbia had no such counselor.[1] Since some schools employ two or more counselors, considerably fewer than 10 per cent of public secondary schools had staff members who devoted one-half or more of their time to counseling. In 1940 the American Youth Commission reported that "full-time counselors are now to be found in less than 6 per cent of all secondary schools."[2] It is true that in many cases the work done by part-time and full-time counselors does not yet deserve to be called scientific and the vocational interests of students are too often given slight attention, but progress in these directions has been made and an organization favorable to greater progress has been set up. Every year vocational counseling is extending and becoming more systematic and scientific in American schools.

The nature of counseling. Counseling implies a relationship between two individuals in which one gives a certain kind of assistance to the other. The term "group counseling" is sometimes used in the literature of vocational guidance. These two words do not belong together. One might as well speak of "group courting" or "group diagnosis" as of "group counseling." In a counseling situation only two persons are involved, the counselor and the one counseled, sometimes called the "counselee." When more than these two participate in what takes place, the process is something else than counseling; perhaps group guidance such as occurs in a discussion of an occupation in the presence of a group consisting of persons interested in that occupation. This characteristic of counseling is well stated by Wrenn when he says,

> First of all, counseling is personal. It cannot be performed with a group. "Group counseling" is an anomaly; the two terms are not in harmony. "Personal counseling" is a tautology; counseling is always personal.[3]

[1] ROYCE E. BREWSTER and WALTER J GREENLEAF, "A Roll Call of Counselors," *Occupations: The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, XVIII (November, 1939), 83–89.

[2] *The Occupational Adjustment of Youth*, p. 5, Washington: American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education, 1940.

[3] C. GILBERT WRENN, "Counseling with Students," *Guidance in Educational Institutions*, Thirty-seventh Yearbook, National Society for the Study

The assistance given by the vocational counselor to the one counseled consists of help in marshaling the facts that should be considered and in weighing and evaluating these facts in relation to the counselee's vocational plans. It is at once apparent that the facts to be considered are of two kinds, those pertaining to the assets and liabilities of the individual, as discussed in Chaps. IX, X, XI, and XII, and those pertaining to the opportunities and requirements of the occupations that interest this individual, as discussed in Chap. VIII. It is equally apparent that most individuals, especially when still in the period of adolescence, need help not only in marshaling the pertinent facts of these two kinds but also in seeing their significance for vocational plans, whether in confirming plans already made or in formulating new ones. Vocational counseling does not function effectively unless the latter of these two services as well as the former is performed in a proper way.

In this connection it is well to note that vocational counseling is not giving vocational advice. Someone facetiously has said that the worst vice is advice. Whether or not this be true, it is certain that giving advice is not a part of wise counseling, though one of the most common weaknesses of vocational counselors. Nor is vocational counseling telling an individual what occupation he should follow, after having noted his personal assets and liabilities and having compared these with occupational requirements. Phrenologists, physiognomists, and unfortunately, some overcredulous believers in psychological tests often try to tell people what they should do. But this is not vocational counseling. Vocational counseling leaves decisions to the counseled individual. Its duty is performed when it helps this individual to follow a wise procedure in arriving at his own decisions, not when it tries to make decisions for him. Counseling is no more making decisions for the counselee than is the teaching of algebra solving problems for the one taught.

The place of counseling in a vocational guidance program. From what has been said concerning the nature of counseling it is clear that this service constitutes the heart of the vocational guidance program. All the services discussed thus far are

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of Education, Part I, Chap. IV, p. 119, Bloomington, Ill.: Public School Publishing Company, 1938.

brought to a focus in the counseling interviews. Services yet to be considered in detail—vocational preparation, placement, and adjustment in employment—stem from the decisions reached or confirmed by counseling. It should not be inferred, however, that this lessens in any degree the importance of the other services. Unless the occupational information, self-inventory, and personal data collecting services are performed well, the most effective counseling service is impossible. And unless provision is made for suitable vocational preparation, placement, and follow-up much of the value of the counseling service is lost.

The counseling program required for all pupils. In order that a program of vocational counseling in a high school may be comprehensive, it must reach all pupils in the school. It is not sufficient to make the counselor's services available to all who wish to consult him. It is necessary to require that all come to him for individual interviews just as they are required to take English or history. In the case of some pupils, a single interview may be all that is necessary during the entire junior or senior high school period. The vocational choices of these may appear to the counselor entirely suitable, their plans for preparation wisely made, and their progress satisfactory. Even these pupils, however, are entitled to the services of the school's specialist in vocational counseling long enough to find out whether choice and plans and progress are, or appear to be, suitable.

In the case of other pupils who have made no choices or whose choices appear unwise, several counseling interviews may be necessary. Most pupils will need at least two interviews with the counselor during the junior high school period, one during the first year as they are choosing their curriculum, and another during the last year as they look forward to senior high school or, in a few cases, to employment. In the senior high school, as problems of future occupation and preparation for it become more pressing, more frequent conferences with the vocational counselor may be needed by most pupils.

Scheduling individual interviews. It is apparent that a counselor who is to do so much interviewing of individual pupils will find it necessary to make out a schedule of appointments in advance, with a maximum time for each interview, and arrange for pupils to see him according to this schedule. Naturally the interviews, if possible, would be scheduled when pupils have

study periods or at other times when interference with classwork would be least serious. But a counselor should have the privilege of scheduling appointments with pupils at times when they are due in English or mathematics or any other subject if necessary, notifying the teacher of the arrangement in advance. The counselor's position in the school and his relations with teachers should make this possible without friction. A 30-minute maximum should be adequate for interviews, and some counselors may prefer less time than this. If the full time is not required, the remainder may be spent in recording important items that come out of the interview or in preparing for the next interview. In case an interview is not completed within a half hour, arrangements can be made to continue it later. Provision should be made by the counselor for voluntary interviews with pupils during the first hour after school each day and at other times.

The setting of the interview. It is important that the counseling interview shall have a setting that will give the pupil who comes for his first interview a favorable impression. This calls for a private office in which the counselor may talk with a pupil without interruption. It calls for an office that is orderly, well kept, and businesslike in appearance, with the needed records readily accessible and for a cordial and friendly but businesslike attitude on the part of the counselor. Expecting a counselor to do other than merely incidental counseling when in charge of a home room or study hall and in the presence of other pupils is expecting the impossible, though some schools still provide no better setting for this important confidential service. The attitude of the pupil toward the counseling interview is, in fact, a part of its setting. If the school does not respect this interview sufficiently to provide favorable conditions for it, the pupil will approach it with an attitude of indifference or distrust. If the principal and teachers believe in this work and are sympathetic toward it, recognizing that it is a school enterprise for which they as well as the counselor are responsible, pupils generally will look upon it with respect and confidence and will approach it with a favorable attitude.

Preparing for the interview. The wise counselor will, of course, make special preparation in advance for each scheduled interview by looking up all the pertinent information available concerning the pupil who is scheduled to see him. This informa-

tion should be in the cumulative record files of his office in some such form as described on pages 240–244, Chap. XII. The records would include data discussed in detail in Chaps. X, XI, and XII. In the case of some pupils there will be reports from local government or social agencies that have aided the family, or from a psychiatrist who has had occasion to examine the pupil, or from a probation officer who is looking after him by order of the court, in addition to the more usual information coming directly from the school or the home. Other things being equal, the greater the amount of pertinent information the counselor has in mind concerning the pupil, the more successful will be the interview, both in obtaining further significant information and in directing wisely the pupil's thinking on occupational plans.

The counselor will find it desirable also to select in advance from the available data a few leading items for use in the interview, both in starting it and in focusing it upon the individual pupil's most urgent needs. The counselor is no more justified in beginning a scheduled counseling interview without adequate special preparation for that particular interview than is a teacher of physics or history in starting a class period without special preparation for the work of that period.

Conducting the interview. If it is a first interview, the first objectives will be to make the pupil feel at ease, to disarm any prejudices he may have against the counselor's office, and to gain his confidence. In order to accomplish these objectives the counselor will need to make wise use of what he has learned from examination of the records concerning the pupil's special interests and hobbies. The procedure involved is very similar to that used in interviews by the better news reporters. This was ably described some years ago by Isaac Marcosson, the famous war correspondent, in the following language:

> Every man is a law unto himself. There are no two human beings alike in the world. Before interviewing a man, you should learn all about him that you can. The more you analyze the process of interviewing the more marked becomes the parallel with salesmanship. Men often fail in business because they use the same arguments with everybody. They forget that each human being is a law unto himself. It would have been impossible to get next to Lloyd George with the same line of selling talk that you employed to make Sir Douglas Haig break his chronic silence. Each of these remarkable men—and they

are types—required an entirely different line of approach, based upon a knowledge of their work, interests, ambition, and personality.

Ever since those early days I have invariably made it a point to find out all I possibly could about a man before I went to see him. Before the war if I knew nothing about a man's particular hobby or interest I made it my business to find out something about it—whether it was horses, yachts, good roads, landscape gardening, first editions, etchings, or baseball.

Having gained the pupil's confidence, the counselor could easily inquire about his plans for the next year, for the rest of his high school course, and after his high school work is over. This would naturally lead to questions concerning the pupil's choice of occupation; whether he has made a choice, why he thinks it suitable, and what preparation he is planning to make for it. If no choice has been made, the conversation might be directed toward a few occupations that have aroused the pupil's interest. Whatever occupation is discussed should be considered in relation to the pupil's health, physique, temperament, general intelligence, general school record, record in tryout experiences, achievements in extracurricular activities, and the like. Suggested references which deal with an occupation in which he is interested may be given to the pupil, and arrangements may be made for him to talk with someone who has succeeded in the occupation under consideration. Of course, attention should be given to his plans for further education.

The pupil may be asked to fill out a self-analysis blank, such as was discussed in a previous chapter, which will give his own estimate of himself with respect to certain important qualities. If conditions seem to justify it, attention may be given in a considerate manner to remediable personality handicaps and methods of overcoming them. In fact, the counseling interview affords an opportunity to discuss with the pupil any of his personal assets and liabilities that seem likely to affect his educational and vocational plans and to direct his thinking toward increasing his assets and decreasing his liabilities in any way possible.

Closing the interview. As the counselor brings the interview to a close, he should sum up with the pupil the situation as it stands. If the situation warrants it, he will make some concrete suggestions as to what the pupil should do in order to gain additional information or experience which will aid him in making his

choice or in preparing himself if a suitable choice is already made. He may find it desirable to stress the fact that a suitable choice is much more important than an immediate choice and to advise delay in reaching a decision until more evidence is available or until the evidence is more carefully studied. In some cases he may wish to schedule another interview at some date in the near future. He will call the pupil's attention to his afterschool office hour when any pupil who wishes may come in and see him about vocational problems.

The pupil should go from the interview with a feeling that choosing his occupation is a serious undertaking and that the responsibility for whatever choice is made must rest with him. He should also carry away with him a profound belief that the counselor is genuinely interested in helping him to make a wise choice and is able to give him valuable assistance in the matter.

Recording the interview. In making a record of the interview, part of which may be entered while talking with the pupil if this does not interfere with the success of the interview, and part after he leaves the office, the counselor will check the accuracy of information already on file concerning the pupil and will supplement this with additional information called for on the record blank to which references have already been made. He may wish to add a few brief memoranda of things about the pupil that impress him as significant, though he will need to guard against placing too great value upon hastily formed impressions. The self-analysis made by the pupil, while constituting a part of his record in the counselor's office, may well be filed separately from the record blank and be accessible only to the counselor. It should be treated as a confidential statement of the pupil and therefore protected from examination by teachers, who may at times have access to the record blanks referred to above. Both record blank and self-analysis will be referred to by the counselor in connection with later interviews and with placement when the pupil leaves school to enter a wage-earning occupation.

Later counseling interviews. The general principles which govern the first counseling interview are applicable in later formal interviews also. The same consideration, the same respect for the personality of the pupil, and the same care in examining and weighing significant data are essential. But, because of the relations already established between counselor

and pupil, and the better understanding of the problem on the part of both, more rapid progress can usually be made toward fairly definite plans or toward solution of new problems that have arisen. Of course, a record of each such interview should be made, no matter how many may take place. Sometimes opportunities will arise for the counselor to talk quite informally with a pupil whom he has previously met in a counseling interview. Very effective counseling may result from these informal conversations, if the counselor is good at recalling what was said and done in the more formal occasions of their meeting.

Vocational counseling by others than a trained counselor. It has been noted that one function of vocational counseling is to help the individual marshal significant facts concerning occupations that interest him; a second function is to help the individual marshal significant facts concerning himself; while a third is to help him evaluate and interpret these two sets of facts in relation to each other.

A vocational counselor will often find it desirable to refer a pupil to another teacher or to some industrial, business, professional, or other type of worker for assistance in the performance of the first of these functions. As noted earlier, no other staff member of a senior high school should know as much about opportunities and requirements of occupations in which chemistry is basic as the teacher of chemistry. Nor should any be so familiar with occupations in the electrical field as the teacher of electricity, whether this is taught as a separate subject or as a part of physics. It is to be expected that the counselor will say to a boy who is interested in industrial chemistry, "Talk with Mr. K., who teaches chemistry, about the opportunities and requirements of that field," or to one who is considering servicing radios, "Talk with Mr. L., who is our school's specialist in the electrical field, about what is involved in servicing radios." The counselor might also send the first boy to a carefully selected chemical engineer and the second one to a leader in the business of servicing radios. It is expected in each case that assistance will be given the boy in obtaining facts concerning the occupation involved.

It must be understood, however, that little if any help can be expected from the latter sources in the performance of the second and third functions of the counseling service. Neither the

teacher of chemistry nor the chemical engineer has the needed data concerning the boy and neither is likely to have the required training for helping the boy to evaluate the data concerning industrial chemistry in relation to the data concerning himself.

In other cases the counselor may send a pupil to a physician who will help him to form a correct idea of the seriousness of some physical handicap or to a psychiatrist for information concerning an emotional disturbance. But these two professional workers are simply helping individual pupils to obtain certain needed facts concerning themselves, and supplying the counselor with these same facts. They are not expected to be of direct assistance in performing either the first or third functions of the counseling service. Indeed, they deal with only a small part of the needed facts included under the second function.

Responsibility for making sure that the pupil actually organizes both groups of facts in an adequate manner, and for helping him to interpret and evaluate these two groups of facts in their relation to each other still rests, and must rest, with the vocational counselor. This is a specialist's job, and he is the specialist employed to perform it.

The "teacher-counselor" in relation to vocational counseling. Jones and Hand treat the "teacher-counselor" as the key person in a guidance program. The presentation of their point of view follows:

Each school would be so organized and so administered that it would be possible for one well qualified person to have intimate and continuous contacts over a series of years with a given group of say, from thirty to forty students. These teacher-counselors would serve in the composite capacity of guide, instructor, and director of instruction for their respective groups with reference to the core or common experiences afforded by the school; in addition, the special interests and needs of various groups of students (*e.g.*, for higher mathematics, technical science, etc.) would be met in specialized courses taught by specialized teachers outside of, or beyond, these core experiences. These teacher-counselors should of course be specially qualified and given sufficient time and adequate facilities to do their work effectively. Each would be assisted in discharging the inseparable functions of guidance and instruction for a given group of students by a "team" of teachers representing respectively the various broad fields of interest and endeavor (social studies, science, language arts, practical arts, etc.) with which a functional curriculum would be concerned. A given "team-member

teacher" would of course work with more than one teacher-counselor, and hence with more than one group of thirty to forty students. Also, a given teacher-counselor might serve for a portion of the day as a "team-member teacher" representing some one or more broad fields under some one or more other teacher-counselors.

The major responsibility for the diagnosing and the counseling, as well as for the instructing, of the students in question would thus fall to the adequately trained teacher-counselor aided by his cooperating "team." In addition, there would be available specialized services of a more expert nature in connection with every aspect of the work. The primary role of these specialized workers, however, would be that of a teacher of teacher-counselors and teachers, and of consultant. All the diagnosing and counseling done by these specialists would definitely and intimately be coordinated with that performed by the teacher-counselor and his team of teachers.[1]

This proposal does not differ greatly from that of placing chief responsibility for counseling on well-trained home-room teachers who, as far as possible, keep the same pupils throughout their stay in junior or senior high school. That there are important educational advantages in this arrangement cannot be questioned, though there are often educational disadvantages also. It is obvious, too, that such teacher-counselors or home-room teachers must be expected to make important contributions to the vocational counseling program as will be discussed in Chap. XVIII. But it cannot be expected that adequate vocational counseling will be done by these individuals, along with their teaching and other duties.

The specialist in vocational counseling will be needed also, and his duties will consist to a greater extent in conducting interviews with individual pupils than in serving as a "teacher of teacher-counselors and teachers," and as "consultant." In fact, the Jones and Hand discussion seems to be concerned with *individualized teaching* rather than with counseling, or, at any rate, vocational counseling. Vocational counseling is too highly specialized an undertaking to expect that in a school of 1,000 pupils approximately 30 members of its staff will be qualified to perform this task effectively, even with a specialist as consultant.

[1] Arthur J. Jones and Harold C. Hand, "Guidance and Purposive Living," *Guidance in Educational Institutions*, Thirty-seventh Yearbook, National Society for the Study of Education, Part I, Chap. I, pp. 27–28, Bloomington, Ill.: Public School Publishing Company, 1938.

Other duties of the vocational counselor. In addition to his work in connection with conducting counseling interviews with individual pupils, the vocational counselor in a secondary school will perform many other important duties.

He will meet with pupils in groups from time to time, explaining the nature and vocational implications of curriculums and schools open to them; acquainting them with the services provided by the counselor's office, pointing out the steps necessary in order to obtain an employment permit or an age certificate and calling attention to the laws affecting young workers; supplying information on a group basis concerning any specific occupation in which the particular group may be interested; and possibly teaching one or more classes in occupational information.

He will confer with teachers and other fellow members of the school staff in order to obtain information concerning individual pupils; in order to enlist cooperation in meeting the needs of a particular pupil for educational or vocational adjustment; in order to enlist the cooperation of the subject teacher in acquainting his classes with information concerning the opportunities and requirements of occupations for which his particular subject is basic; in order to encourage more attention by subject teachers to the exploratory values of their work and to secure from them more complete reports concerning pupils' interests and characteristics revealed by these exploratory experiences; in order to ensure better school library facilities for vocational guidance purposes.

He will confer with the research bureau or psychological clinic of the school system with reference to giving intelligence, aptitude, and achievement tests in particular instances and reporting upon test results; with the attendance department concerning attendance records and visits of attendance officers and visiting teachers to homes of pupils; with the school health department concerning health examinations of particular pupils and the findings of such examinations; with the office which places youth in employment concerning the placement of pupils who are about to leave school and concerning the success of these pupils after they have been in employment for a time.

He will confer with parents in order to acquaint them with the school's efforts to help their children make wise educational and vocational plans; in order to obtain additional information

needed in interviews with pupils; in order that there may be agreement and cooperation between school and home in the help given pupils in making their plans.

He will work with representatives of industry, business, and the professions in gathering information concerning occupations for use in the schools; in arranging for occasional talks by successful workers in different occupations to groups of interested pupils; in arranging for individual boys and girls to interview workers engaged in occupations which the boys and girls are thinking of entering; in arranging for groups of pupils to visit industrial and business establishments.

He will work with social agencies of the community outside the school system, such as Boy Scout and Girl Scout organizations, Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., men's and women's service clubs, parent-teacher associations, juvenile court, welfare organizations, C.C.C. camps, and N.Y.A. in ways that will keep these organizations informed concerning the school's counseling program; gain needed information concerning particular pupils; obtain information concerning the guidance activities of these various organizations and the relation of their activities to the work of the school; bring about a closer coordination of guidance effort in the community; focus the efforts of other agencies with those of the school upon difficult cases.

He will concern himself with school records in order that the data on file in his office for each pupil may be as useful as possible in counseling interviews.

In engaging in these varied activities, however, the vocational counselor will do well to keep in mind the fact that their purpose is to make more effective his and his helpers' counseling interviews with individual pupils and to promote the vocational guidance program as a whole, of which counseling is so vital a part. The nature of counseling is such that the individual interview must be considered the heart of the counselor's work.

Qualifications of the vocational counselor. Again and again the vocational counselor has been referred to as a specialist. The qualifications of a specialist in any field include (1) personality traits particularly suited to the field, (2) training for the work to be done, and (3) experience related to the field.

An interesting preliminary study of traits of vocational counselors as judged by high school principals and directors of guid-

ance was reported some years ago by Walter B. Jones. The five traits emphasized in this study are

1. *Breadth of interest.* This trait is characterized by such trait actions as: (1) Able to get the business point of view. (2) Sympathetic with prospective drop-outs as well as with college preparatory pupils. (3) Interested in various types of people. (4) Addresses clubs and various organizations. (5) Has interest in pupil's home and school life.
2. *Cooperation.* Cooperation is characterized by such trait actions as: (1) Does extra work occasionally in a cheerful manner. (2) Cooperates with employers in trying to see their side of employment problems. (3) "Spends and is spent" for mankind.
3. *Refinement.* Refinement, in which modesty is an outstanding subtrait, is characterized by such trait actions as: (1) Is not affected, dominating, or dictatorial. (2) Is not too cock-sure of the wisdom of his own judgment.
4. *Magnetism.* Magnetism is characterized by such trait actions as: (1) Puts others at ease. (2) Inspires confidence at interview. (3) Makes pupils feel that they are always welcome to see him and that they will be given help
5. *Considerateness.* This trait is characterized by: (1) Appreciates teacher's difficulties in working out student adjustments. (2) Exhibits human understanding of those less fortunate. (3) Has real love for fellowman without being sentimental.[1]

While a more complete study might modify the above list in some respects, this gives a good general picture of the type of person who is suited to the work of a vocational counselor when the needed training and experience, and the maturity that comes with these, are added.

In the matter of preparation for vocational counseling, it is generally agreed that a good liberal education is a first essential. Because of the nature of the work to be done, this should include considerable attention to economics, psychology, and sociology. Since vocational counseling is to be carried on in a school system, it is important that the counselor shall understand the more fundamental principles that underlie education; be acquainted with its organization and administration; be familiar with the objectives, curriculums, and methods of secondary schools, and know the principles of vocational education and the varied

[1] WALTER B JONES, "Traits of Vocational Counselors," *The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, IX (May, 1931), 348–353.

opportunities, public and private, available for obtaining preparation for occupations. Included in the special preparation recommended by a committee of the National Vocational Guidance Association are: principles and problems of vocational guidance, analysis of vocational activities, methods of imparting occupational information, psychological tests in guidance, counseling the individual, placement and follow-up, and field work in vocational guidance. Others have added to this list courses in individual differences, mental hygiene of adolescence, and psychiatry. When account is taken of the varied duties and relationships of the vocational counselor the tendency is to expand rather than to reduce this suggested program of preparation. With growing recognition of the highly specialized professional nature of the work, it seems likely that preparation for it will be extended.

As regards experience needed by one who is to do vocational counseling, an excellent statement is found in the certification requirements for counselors set up by the New York State Department of Education:

> *Experience.* The range of occupational experience is so great that no person may have all the desirable kinds. It is desirable that the counselor have experience in the school grades or type of school in which he expects to counsel. Since the greater number of our young people leave school at an early age and enter factory and commercial occupations, experience in these occupations will be valuable. Other experiences directly related to guidance problems are: social case work; visiting teacher service; participating in local surveys and report writing under direction; administrative work in the school grades in which the person expects to work; personnel work in large industrial or commercial establishments.
>
> Candidates must have satisfactory evidence of three years of approved experience. This experience must include teaching and such other experience as will enable the counselor to appreciate by contact the problems of young people both in school and in employment. The following kinds of experience are particularly valuable:
>
> *a.* Industrial, commercial, and professional, exclusive of teaching but inclusive of personnel work.
>
> *b.* Classroom, shop, or laboratory teaching or administrative work in the school grades in which the counselor expects to work. (This does not include student teaching.)
>
> *c.* Social case work for social agencies and visiting teacher service.

d. Participation in local surveys and report writing under direction, or in laboratory case work and reports on problems related to guidance.

Relation of the vocational counselor to discipline and administration. It must be granted that the list of duties of a vocational counselor presented in this chapter is formidable. However, all these duties relate rather definitely to his central activity—helping the pupil marshal and evaluate facts that are significant for his vocational plans. Unfortunately vocational counselors are often required to spend much of their time on work that is quite foreign to counseling. In studying the actual work performed by counselors in various cities a few years ago, the writer found them handling discipline cases; dealing with absence and tardiness; granting permission to leave school at irregular times or to come late on account of illness, to go to the dental clinic, etc.; granting lunch permits; having charge of all school-assembly programs; supervising school clubs and the school social program, including dances; providing free books, supplies, and other special aid for needy pupils; presiding over study halls; lending money from the school loan fund and checking on repayment of loans; supervising school publications; performing corridor duty; and other similar duties.

It appears that, under the guise of setting up a counseling program, some secondary school principals have unloaded a large number of their office duties upon the counselor. True, the counselor is a member of the school's staff and should be expected to take part in the general work of the school. But it is unfair to him and to the work of counseling to take his time from work related to counseling when there is more than enough of this to keep him busy, in order to do disciplinary, clerical, and other work essential to the administration of the school but remote from counseling.

As a matter of fact, the counseling function and the disciplinary function sometimes conflict. When a counselor disciplines a pupil that pupil may develop an attitude toward the counselor that makes impossible for the future the friendly relationship essential to effective counseling. The writer when visiting a large high school a few years ago asked to see a certain counselor. The reply was, "I'm sorry, but you can't see him today. He had a disciplinary case this forenoon and the boy blacked his eye." While this is an extreme case, it illustrates

the point. That man's value for vocational counseling was gone not only for the boy concerned but for many other boys in the school. Possibly the counselor's disciplinary methods were unwise, but disciplinary cases often leave bad feeling however well they are handled. A disciplinary situation usually calls for different treatment than a counseling situation. In general, different personality traits and different preparation are needed for counseling than are usually found in disciplinary officers.

The vocational counselor as coordinator of the vocational guidance program. In a later chapter attention will be given to the organization and administration of a comprehensive program of vocational guidance in a city school system and to the place of superintendent, principal, vocational counselor, home-room teacher, subject teacher, and others in this program. However, in closing this chapter it seems fitting to stress the coordinating function of the counselor in the vocational guidance activities of any particular school.

His should be the responsibility for planning the program, in cooperation with his principal and the city director of vocational guidance. He should suggest ways in which other members of the school staff may cooperate in the program, and obtain their cooperation. As his school's specialist in this field he should be looked to for leadership in bringing together all of the possible contributions of the school to the vocational guidance of its pupils. If the school is large, with several counselors, the coordinating responsibility becomes that of the group, usually under the leadership of one member, who serves as chairman. If the school is small, with a single counselor who can devote only a fraction of his time to vocational guidance, the coordinating function is still his. The wise principal will recognize the desirability of thus centralizing responsibility for this important work and will see that the necessary authority accompanies the responsibility, at the same time that he selects a well-qualified person for the position.

Summary

Vocational counseling, long a feature of school work on an incidental and unscientific basis, is each year extending and becoming more systematic and scientific.

Counseling implies a confidential relationship between two individuals. The vocational counselor assists the one counseled to marshal pertinent facts and to evaluate them in relation to the latter's vocational plans. These facts pertain to the assets and liabilities of the counseled and to the opportunities and requirements of occupations which interest him. Vocational counseling is neither giving advice nor telling the counseled individual what occupation he should follow. The individual is left to make his own decisions. The counseling service is the heart of a vocational guidance program. In a very real sense the occupational information, self-inventory, and personal data services lead up to counseling, and the vocational preparatory, placement, and follow-up services stem from it.

The counseling service should reach all pupils at least twice in both their junior and senior high school periods. Many pupils will require additional special interviews. The counselor needs to schedule these interviews with individual pupils and make as careful preparation for them as is done in case of class periods of regular school subjects. Preparation consists chiefly of studying the pupil's cumulative record, selecting items for consideration, and planning the interview with reference to the personality and needs of the pupil.

After the pupil has been put at ease, the interview centers around his vocational plans. What vocation, if any, he has chosen; what his strong and weak points are; what prospects he has for continuing his education; how his assets, liabilities, and plans harmonize with his vocational choice; what further information he needs and how he can obtain it are among the principal items which will claim attention. Sometimes the counselor will find it wise to refer the pupil to some other teacher or to some worker in an occupation that interests him for assistance in obtaining needed additional information. But responsibility for helping the pupil marshal and evaluate the information obtained remains with the counselor. The successful counseling interview is so conducted that the pupil leaves it feeling that choosing a vocation is a serious undertaking for which the responsibility rests with him and that the counselor is ready and able to give him further help later in this matter. The counselor will then make such additional entries on the pupil's record forms as seem justified and desirable. Often he will be able to supplement the

work of the formal interview by informal conversations at other times as opportunity offers.

In addition to conducting interviews with individual pupils the vocational counselor will meet with groups of pupils for various guidance purposes and confer with fellow staff members with a view to improving the guidance program of his school. Also, conferences with parents, with officers of the psychological clinic and other departments of the school system, with representatives of industry and business, with heads of social agencies, etc., will be necessary. But the individual interview is the heart of his work.

Among the personal qualities desired in a vocational counselor are breadth of interest, cooperation, refinement, magnetism, and considerateness. Broad preparation in the fields of economics, sociology, and psychology are considered important besides special preparation in education and in the various aspects of vocational guidance. Experience in industry, business, or social work is a decided asset.

The vocational counselor should not be called upon to spend his time on matters of general school administration or discipline. These functions do not harmonize well with counseling. However, he may be expected to serve as a coordinator of the vocational guidance program of his school and in some cases to teach as well as to counsel pupils.

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CHAPTER XIV

THE VOCATIONAL PREPARATORY SERVICE

Relation of vocational preparation to a comprehensive program of vocational guidance. In the process of transfer from school to occupational success, preparation for the occupation must, of course, take place somewhere along the line. In many occupations, both business and industrial, this takes place after employment begins. In others, preparation to a greater or less extent is made in the school or under school supervision before entrance upon regular full-time employment occurs. In still other occupations, a long period of highly specialized preparation precedes actual entrance upon the duties of the occupation, as in case of the professions.

In any case it is clear that the individual's vocational success depends upon the quality and completeness of his preparation as well as upon suitable choice of an occupation. Assisting the individual to secure his vocational preparation, wherever and whenever it may be obtained, is, therefore, of concern in considering a program of vocational guidance whether or not it is considered a part of that program.[1] However, this subject must be treated briefly here, the reader being referred for a more complete discussion to books devoted wholly to vocational education.

It has already been noted that the vocational counselor should assist pupils who have made definite occupational choices to plan their vocational preparation. Having been aided in choosing their work by means of information courses, tryout experiences, and individual counseling, these pupils are now ready for help in planning their preparation, whether this is to be obtained in the school system or outside it, and whether specific preparation should begin at once or be postponed until later. This is essentially a function of the counseling service. But a school system which undertakes to carry on a comprehensive program

[1] For further discussion of the relation between vocational education and vocational guidance see Chap. I, pp. 7–9.

of vocational guidance will be obliged to concern itself also with actually providing some vocational preparation as well as with helping individuals to plan such preparation as meets their particular requirements. What claims attention in this chapter is the school system's part in providing the needed preparation. The question for consideration is: What provision for vocational preparation should be made by a school system which undertakes to develop a comprehensive program of vocational guidance?

Vocational preparation however obtained a charge upon society. Throughout the discussion of this subject it is well to keep in mind the fact that, however vocational preparation is obtained by an individual, in the long run society as a whole pays the bill, or most of it. If one prepares in a state educational institution for a profession, the public at once assumes a part of the cost in taxes for support of the institution. The individual, to be sure, pays heavily for the time being in loss of earnings during his training period and in the price of tuition, books, etc. But when one enters upon this special training, the assumption is that society later will more than repay him in larger earnings over a long period of years than he would otherwise receive.

If the individual is prepared or partially prepared by the public school system for a trade or for an office position, the same thing is true. If the training is obtained in a private institution conducted for profit, such as a business college, then the entire cost is borne at first by the individual, and the cost to society goes over into the deferred payments column. Again, if the training is obtained wholly in employment, its first cost is shared by the learner, in that his wages are lower during the learning period, and by the employer, in that more supervision is necessary, a larger waste of material occurs, there is heavier damage to equipment, etc., during a worker's learning period than later. But the employer passes on his share to the public without delay in higher prices for his products or service, while the learner is reimbursed later in the wages of a trained worker.[1]

[1] Eaton has phrased well the general point of view expressed in this paragraph: "There are those whose understanding of economic law is such that they believe it possible to saddle the cost of a new school building, a new highway, or a war upon posterity by the issuance of bonds. It is the same naïve conception that leads to the belief that society can somehow escape the cost of vocational education by turning it over to industry. By allowing

Vocational education a public responsibility. Nor is the fact that the public finally pays for vocational education, however it is obtained by the individual, all that needs to be noted here. Public responsibility for vocational education must be recognized and assumed if America's accepted belief in equal educational opportunity for all is to be a reality. The idea that a community maintaining a high school which offers a single academic curriculum provides equal educational opportunity for all youth in the community was exploded long ago. What this type of school provides is, of course, the same opportunity for all, regardless of individual abilities, needs, and possibilities of profiting from the school's offerings. The situation was much improved when the commercial, homemaking, and industrial arts curriculums and a more varied general curriculum were added to the earlier curriculum of academic type. But school authorities are coming to recognize that city school systems must go still further and undertake to help youth to obtain preparation in some way for the varied occupations which they enter, if equal opportunities are to be a reality. Helping one to prepare at public expense for college and doing little or nothing toward helping another to prepare for secretarial work or for the work of watch repairing is not observing the spirit of America's favorite educational slogan.

This public responsibility for vocational education extends through the same levels as for general education. That is, if a general high school course is maintained, then vocational preparation of high school grade should be provided. If a junior college is developed, then the city should be ready to provide preparation for occupations for which as much as two years of

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industry, instead of government, to expend a part of the social income for the extension of vocational education it is in some mysterious fashion not spent, but saved. The economist, however, does not see it in that way. If it is spent it is spent and society pays the bill. If, however, the public pays through industry it has no control or direction of expenditure. If it pays through taxes to government it may determine the purposes and activities of vocational education with reference to the forwarding of democracy. Assuming the soundness of the proposition that government plus industry can support vocational education it follows that government alone can do so. It appears to the advantage of democracy that it should undertake that support." THEODORE H. EATON, *Education and Vocations*, p. 281, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1926.

work beyond high school are needed. Always, of course, whatever is offered should be determined only after a careful survey is made of the vocational education needs of the community. But there is no more obligation resting upon the community to provide general education on a certain level than to provide vocational education on the same level. Indeed, the one who wishes the latter on the junior college level and is prepared to profit by it is quite as justified in demanding such education of the school system as the one who wishes the former is justified in demanding general education on the junior college level.

If conditions do not warrant the establishment of a class with teachers and equipment, the school system may at least arrange for correspondence study under its supervision or may offer to pay the tuition fees for the desired course in some neighboring city, or may arrange for instruction by a skilled worker in his place of employment. The school system thus becomes, as it ought, the agency of the community through which vocational education of a certain grade or level, as well as general education of the same grade or level, is made available to those who wish it.

Modern industry and business not organized to provide vocational preparation. The theory advanced by some writers that industry and business should train their own workers, since they reap the advantages derived from the training, needs further examination. As a matter of fact, society as a whole and the workers themselves as well as the employers reap these advantages, as has already been observed. All benefit together from proper preparation of workers. But more fundamental to this discussion is the fact that *industry and business are organized to do production and service jobs while preparation of workers is an educational job.*

When a foreman or a skilled workman takes time from his work to teach a learner, production usually suffers immediately; and it is for production that these men are paid. It may be argued that in the long run production does not suffer but is benefited because of greater efficiency on the part of the learner. But modern competition makes pressure for immediate production so strong that neither foreman nor skilled workman can take time to do a good job of teaching, even if qualified to do it. Here again, the fact that their job is production and their training and experience are along this line leaves them without the needed

qualifications for the educational job of teaching learners Again, it often happens that efficient production requires a learner to keep on doing for weeks something that he has already learned to do well when efficient training would require that he be transferred to something new. In other words, efficient production methods and effective teaching methods often clash when industry undertakes to prepare its own workers.

Some large industrial and business organizations have recognized this situation and have developed training programs for learners which reduce or eliminate these difficulties and provide reasonably adequate preparation for work in their own organizations, though this training is often rather narrow as far as the same occupations in industry and business as a whole are concerned. But many large companies and nearly all small ones find it impracticable if not impossible to maintain a training program which resolves the fundamental conflict between production methods and training methods in modern industry. In the more leisurely handicraft stage of industry of 150 years ago, when the apprentice was bound to a master craftsman for a period of four to seven years and worked directly under this master, it was to the master's interests to train the apprentice quickly and well. Modern methods of production have changed this situation and brought about the conflict mentioned above.

Vocational preparation a cooperative enterprise under control of the public school system. Since the final cost of vocational preparation, however obtained, is paid by society as a whole; since modern industry and business cannot be expected to provide adequate vocational preparation; and since society is under the same obligation to furnish vocational as general education or abandon its claims to provide equal educational opportunity for all, the logical conclusion is that society, as a matter of economic self-protection and in meeting its responsibility to the rising generation, should determine how this preparation can be given most effectively and economically for each occupation and what public provision is necessary and desirable for the purpose. Possibly some of the preparation now given in employment could be given better in a tax-supported school before employment begins. Possibly some of that now given in a tax-supported school in advance of employment could be given better in employment. Possibly more vocational preparation should be

given upon a cooperative plan arranged between public school, employer, and workers in particular occupations.

It is logical to conclude, also, that society should approach this task and undertake to answer these and other pertinent questions through the agency which society has set up for the particular purpose of doing educational jobs—the public school system. With its traditions along this line, its staff trained for this purpose, and its methods developed to this end, surely the school system should be better qualified to have charge of the needed educational jobs of the community than any other agency. But no school system can solve this difficult problem alone. Cooperation with employers and with workers is absolutely essential to an effective program of vocational preparation in any community. Failure to obtain this cooperation will be just as fatal to the program as failure of the school system to assume the leadership and the responsibility that belong to it in carrying forward this important educational undertaking.

A continuous occupational survey of community necessary. Only one satisfactory way has yet been found in which public school authorities in any community can determine what vocational preparation they should provide and how they should provide it. A careful investigation or survey of each occupation, with the cooperation of workers and employers, is necessary. Such an investigation must seek to answer the questions: (1) What training is necessary for success in the occupation? (2) What conditions are necessary in order that this training may be given effectively and economically? (3) Can these conditions best be realized in a tax-supported school, in employment itself, or in a combination of the two? Furthermore, evidence of this character must be kept up to date by checking from time to time as conditions change.

It will be found that the same investigation which supplies the information needed to determine how preparation for a given occupation should be provided will readily supply also the material needed concerning the same occupation in occupational information courses and in individual counseling. Really, a continuous occupational survey of the community is needed for all three of these purposes and should be provided for in a comprehensive program of vocational guidance. Along with this survey would go, very naturally, an investigation of the effectiveness of

the vocational preparation which the schools are providing; for it will be found necessary not only to determine what vocational preparation the school system should furnish but also to ascertain from time to time how effectively this is given. In planning and carrying through a survey of this type, *How to Make a Community Youth Survey,* a pamphlet published recently by the American Youth Commission, will be found helpful.

When it is proposed that the vocational preparation which a community ought to furnish through its public schools should be determined by a local survey, it is assumed that needs of this character differ in different communities. The population of the community, the general character of its industrial and business activities, the number of trained workers needed in various lines of employment, the vocational education already provided in various ways, the extent and character of cooperation which may be expected from employers and workers, and many other things would have to be taken into account. It is never safe, though it is often done, for one school system to launch a given program of vocational preparation simply because this program has proved successful in another school system.

Nevertheless, along with the survey of local conditions should always go a careful consideration of efforts made by other cities to meet their conditions and needs. What has been done elsewhere often suggests interesting possibilities even though it may safely be copied outright only under exactly similar conditions. Also, in determining the vocational education program of any community the needs of those who will seek employment elsewhere as well as of those who remain in the community should be considered.

Types of vocational preparation. In the light of what has just been said concerning certain principles and procedures underlying a program of public vocational education, it is logical to ask what the secondary schools are now doing in this respect and what new developments are in prospect.

Three general types of vocational preparation have found permanent places in American school systems Work of all three types is carried on in the agricultural, commercial, home-economics, and industrial fields. The three types are:

1. Preparation before employment begins.
2. Preparation in connection with employment.

3. Preparation for change of occupation.

Preparation before employment begins. When public school authorities first undertook to provide vocational preparation, it was to be expected that educational administrators would think first in terms of the school organization with which they were already familiar. Consequently commercial classes were organized in high schools and, in some of the larger cities, commercial high schools were established to provide high school boys and girls with preparation for business occupations. Following the same lead, household-arts or homemaking courses were developed, classes in agriculture were organized for rural youth, and high school classes or special schools to prepare boys and girls for industrial occupations were established. To be sure, the actual vocational value of much of the work was and still is open to question, but in so far as it was vocational at all it was almost wholly preparation in advance of employment.

1. *For business pursuits.* This type of preparation for business pursuits has proved very popular. As noted earlier, the report of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for 1935 shows that two-thirds of the 1,330,142 students in the 2,558 schools represented were enrolled in commercial subjects. Of course, many of these were taking only one or two commercial subjects for personal use or as part of their general education. But it is well known that the commercial subjects make a stronger vocational appeal to high school students than do the subjects of any other group. Questions might fairly be raised concerning the proportion of commercial occupations for which preparation is provided and the quality of the preparation offered in many of the smaller schools; also, whether many of these boys and girls might not better be preparing for other than commercial occupations. The fact, remains, however, that preparation on this plan for certain occupations in the business field at least attracts the students and gives every indication of being practicable, especially for typing, stenographic, bookkeeping, and general office positions.

2. *For homemaking.* Preparation for homemaking, in so far as the schools have undertaken it, also has been conducted chiefly on the same plan; that is, in advance of actual responsibility for the work of homemaking. The North Central report just referred to shows that a little less than 30 per cent of the girls

enrolled in the schools represented were pursuing the so-called "homemaking subjects" in regular high school classes in 1935. While this is not a large percentage of the girls who will assume homemaking responsibilities, and while many questions might be raised as to the narrowness and ineffectiveness of much of the preparation furnished, here is evidence of a widespread effort on the part of public high schools to provide a much needed type of vocational education. The fact that nearly all girls will have to assume homemaking responsibilities, and the further fact that practice work or projects can be carried on in the girls' homes in connection with school instruction, make this occupation one for which preparation in advance of regular employment is particularly suitable. There are always enough pupils with common interests to form classes, and opportunities for practical application of the instruction are always available. It must be admitted, however, that this occupation, does not either in its preparation aspect or in any other aspect, receive the attention it deserves in vocational guidance programs, probably because it is not a "wage-earning" occupation.

3. *For agricultural pursuits.* While preparation for agricultural occupations, as a public school enterprise, is carried on almost wholly before regular entrance upon the occupations, nevertheless the fact that many of the students assist their fathers in farm work on Saturdays and in the summer vacations, and the further fact that a considerable amount of supervised home-project work is required make it possible to give this preparation a certain practical character not usually found in vocational education which precedes employment. In fact, elements of another plan of training are present, the plan which provides preparation along with practical experience in the occupation.

However, agricultural education, as noted in an earlier chapter, has found a place in few large school systems. It is generally thought of as belonging to the small community where rural life and interests are strong. Only a small percentage of the communities in which federally aided agricultural classes are conducted have a population of 5,000 or more. And yet, as pointed out earlier, there seems to be no good reason why an adequate system of vocational guidance should not discover many youths in every large city who might well be general farmers or farm specialists and who need an opportunity to prepare for this work

while still in school. Modern life is so organized that it encourages farm boys to go into the industrial, business, and professional occupations of the cities. It would be fortunate if more city schools would help their youth to find out whether they are suited to farming and to help those prepare for it who find it a desirable occupation. Surely, with a rural population of more than 50 million, the high schools of the United States should be preparing more than 305,031[1] for agricultural occupations. This is, however, a very substantial increase over the 67,545 reported enrolled in such courses 14 years earlier.

4. *For industrial pursuits.* One serious difficulty encountered in preparing youth in advance of employment for industrial occupations is that, to a far greater extent than commercial, homemaking, or agricultural education, industrial education breaks up into preparation for specific occupations, such as carpentry, bricklaying, plumbing, painting, toolmaking, diesinking, patternmaking, printing, and the like. Thus the number of occupations for which preparation is needed is much larger than in the other fields. Only in cities of considerable size or in those where a single industry dominates, are there found enough boys who wish to prepare for any one of these occupations to justify the expense of maintaining the necessary equipment and employing the properly prepared teacher Efforts made in Connecticut to overcome this difficulty by developing a system of state trade schools, with provision for daily transportation of students to and from school if they live at a considerable distance, have met with success, though even in Connecticut some reside so far away that they find it necessary to obtain temporary living accommodations in the town where the school of their choice is located.

Another difficulty which must be faced frankly is that when a student completes a two-year trade course at sixteen or seventeen years of age, it is practically impossible for him to find employment at that trade, even with the aid of an efficient school placement office. Industry and labor discourage employment of youth under eighteen years of age and many employers refuse

[1] *Digest of Annual Reports of State Boards for Vocational Education to the Office of Education, Vocational Division, for the Fiscal Year Ending June* 30, 1939, p. 108, issued by the Federal Security Agency, Washington· U.S. Office of Education, Vocational Division.

to consider applicants under twenty. Important new factors affecting the situation are minimum wage legislation, desirable as it appears to be in most respects; workmen's compensation laws, which forbid employment in many types of work of youth under eighteen years of age; and the seniority provision of agreements between employers and labor organizations which require that, when the working force is reduced, those most recently hired shall be laid off first, and when the force is later expanded, former employees shall be taken back in the order of their original hiring before new workers can be taken on. The fact is that entrance into wage-earning occupations comes later in the life of the individual than it did 10 or 20 years ago. Indications point to the continuance of this trend. The result is that preparation for specific industrial occupations in all-day schools now comes later in the student's life than formerly. In fact, there is a growing belief, well expressed in the report of the New York State Regents' Inquiry, that

> What a boy needs vocationally is not so much a "trade" when he leaves school at the age of sixteen, seventeen or eighteen, as sound knowledge undergirding a family of occupations, an understanding of the scientific facts and the economics lying back of these trades, the ability and the character to work effectively with others, and an appreciation of the way changes come and the way the individual may best adjust himself to them. To cap this, at the very end, just before he has a real chance of getting a job, he needs an immediately marketable skill.[1]

Enrollments in federally aided industrial schools and classes of the all-day type in the United States have increased rapidly in recent years, being 57,439 in 1928 and 196,465 in 1939. Continued growth may reasonably be expected, but nothing like the growth anticipated by some leaders in industrial education 30 years ago, who believed that three-fourths of the boys and girls who were then leaving school as early as possible to enter industry would stay in school and learn trades if the opportunity were provided. So many industrial occupations require only a limited amount of preparation in advance of employment that this cannot be expected. At present the number enrolled is about 1.2 per cent of the number of workers in the manufacturing and mechanical occupations in this country.

[1] LUTHER GULICK, *Education for American Life*, p. 22, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1938.

Notwithstanding these difficulties and others that might be mentioned, there can be no question that a great deal of valuable vocational preparation is now obtained in all-day industrial schools, nor, on the other hand, any doubt that much more preparation of this sort might be carried on with profit as a part of public education in advance of actual employment. This is especially true when preparation for a "family" of industrial occupations as well as for specific trades is taken into account. All large cities find a genuine demand for vocational preparation in advance of employment and every city of more than 50,000 population should give careful consideration to the desirability of providing it for a limited number of specific occupations. Nor does it seem too much to expect that more state schools for training industrial workers may be established, and more adequate provision made for pupils to earn their living by work done in the school in connection with their training.

Vocational preparation by means of supervised correspondence courses. An effort to overcome the first difficulty mentioned, namely, that of providing in a small community preparation for a variety of occupations, deserves attention here. In 1922–1923 arrangements were made by S. C. Mitchell, principal of the high school at Benton Harbon, Mich., for a few of his pupils to obtain vocational preparation from a Chicago correspondence school. At first, each student's correspondence course work was done under the principal's supervision. Later, after Mr. Mitchell became superintendent of schools, the work was taken over as a public school project and a full-time teacher was employed as supervisor of correspondence study. The correspondence school agreed to charge comparatively small fees for its courses taken in this way. The Benton Harbor Board of Education agreed to pay these fees, believing that this was not only the most economical way but also the only way in which they could provide some of the vocational preparation their high school pupils needed. The supervisor made the necessary arrangements for each student, sent in the papers to the correspondence school, and looked after the work in other ways.

Later other correspondence schools were brought into the arrangement for the purpose of widening the range of vocational courses offered. In 1938–1939 this little city of 17,000 population had 247 high school students, 22 students in part-time school,

and 4 physically handicapped persons obtaining preparation for occupations on this plan. The list of courses taken included the following: accounting, air conditioning, architectural drafting, automobile mechanics, aviation, building contracting, business management, cartooning, commercial art, Diesel engines, finger-printing and classification, foundry-shop theory, journalism, machine drafting, navigation, patternmaking theory, photography, practical electricity, practical nursing, radio, reading shop blueprints, refrigeration, salesmanship, service-station work, sign painting, shop practice, sheet-metal pattern drafting, special shop mathematics, taxidermy. Twelve correspondence schools were cooperating in this work. Provision was made for laboratory work in such subjects as electricity, radio, aviation, and automobile mechanics.

The largest and best known correspondence schools are now promoting this plan with high schools throughout the country. Besides offering a possible solution of the small town's difficulty in providing varied vocational preparation, the plan also may be used by larger cities to supplement its usual program by providing preparation for those occupations which appeal to comparatively few pupils. In no case, however, should correspondence study be looked upon as a substitute for class instruction where it is practicable to organize and conduct the latter.

Preparation in connection with employment. Vocational preparation carried on in connection with employment is of three general types. In one type the student is under supervision of the school and his employment is looked upon as primarily a means of contributing to his vocational preparation. In some cases one-half time is spent in school and the other half at work, while in other cases the proportion of time spent in school is smaller. In the second type he is primarily a worker and the school aids him in preparing better for the work he is already doing or for the next job ahead. Only a few hours per week are spent in the school. In the third type the learner acquires skill and knowledge on the job without spending any time in a school. To the first type belong the "cooperative" program and the "diversified occupations" program. To the second type belong supervised apprenticeship, the part-time school, and evening vocational classes for adults, the three together being sometimes called "continuation schools." To the third type belongs more

or less informal instruction given usually by foreman or fellow worker as work goes on.

The cooperative and diversified-occupations programs. An important difference between these two is that under the cooperative plan students work in pairs, with one on the job and the other in school for a week or more at a time, while under the diversified-occupations plan each student usually works a half-day and is in school a half-day with no one taking his place on the job when he is in school. Both plans are really cooperative in that they both depend upon a high degree of cooperation between school and employers and both make use of employment facilities for teaching the manipulative aspects of the occupation. Both have been used rather extensively in the industrial and business fields, particularly in the industrial.

While the cooperative plan as originally developed more than 30 years ago has declined in popularity, its essential principles are so sound that in some form or other it seems certain to survive and expand in coming years. Apparently the diversified-occupations program is the most promising line of this development, especially in the smaller cities. Rapid expansion of the diversified-occupations work at the very time when the older cooperative work was declining seems to justify this view. A coordinator representing the school system of the community makes the necessary arrangements with employers, sees that the work to be done in employment provides good training opportunities, and usually teaches related subjects to these youth during one-half of the three hours daily that they are in school. A group of 20 youth in this setup may represent nearly as many different occupations.

The diversified-occupations program can often be coordinated advantageously with the all-day program, students passing from preparation for a "family" of occupations in the latter to preparation for a particular occupation in the former, immediately preceding full-time employment. With the beginning of full-time employment, apprentice training is continued with the apprentice coming to the school, usually evenings, for 4 or more hours of instruction per week as described in the next paragraph.

Supervised apprenticeship. This type of vocational preparation calls for a high degree of cooperation on the part of the public school system, employers, and workers. It is sponsored

jointly by the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship of the U.S. Department of Labor and the U.S. Office of Education. Provision is made in the plan set up by these sponsoring agencies for a local joint apprenticeship committee consisting of equal numbers of employers and journeymen for each trade included in the local program. A coordinator represents the school system in promoting and supervising the program and in providing related school instruction.

The local joint committee is expected to see that apprentices are regularly indentured for a definite period; that the ratio of apprentices to journeymen and other recognized labor standards are observed; and, in cooperation with the coordinator, that suitable work programs are set up for the apprentices in their places of employment. The apprentices are required to attend school classes related to the trade for at least 144 hours per year. Usually these classes meet two evenings per week for 2 hours each evening. The period of apprenticeship under this program varies from two to five years. In the steam-fitters' trade national standards have been set up fixing a minimum age of sixteen years, providing for a five-year apprenticeship, and requiring high school or vocational school graduation, or twenty-one years of age and actual experience in the trade along with unusual qualifications, for entrance to the apprenticeship-training program.

In some school systems the same coordinator is responsible for both the diversified-occupations program and the supervised-apprenticeship program.

Part-time schools. A type of vocational preparation conducted by public school systems which reaches a considerable number of youth after employment begins is found in the part-time school. Aimed at helping young workers to make any needed adjustments to employment life as well as to provide them with training for particular jobs, part-time schools are classified by the U.S. Office of Education as trade extension and general continuation, the latter serving youth whose occupations require little skill or technical knowledge. In about one-half the states part-time schools are required by law. The legal requirements differ in different states in regard to the population of the school district which must establish a part-time school, the number of hours per week that youth must attend (varying from four to eight hours), the age to which attendance is required (sixteen

years in some states, seventeen in others, and eighteen in others), conditions on which exemption from attendance is permitted, and in other respects.

According to the U.S. Office of Education, enrollments in general continuation part-time schools and classes declined from a high of 348,018 in 1928 to 141,215 in 1939. The reason for this seems to be that youth of this age group have found it increasingly difficult to obtain any kind of employment before reaching the age of exemption from compulsory attendance at part-time school, and so they remain in full-time school. As a result of so marked a decline in attendance there has been a disposition to assume that this type of vocational education will disappear. This assumption does not seem justified. Here, again, the principle involved is so sound that the general part-time school or class in some form must be expected to continue and probably to expand again as adjustments to changing conditions are made.

However, such expansion as may occur will be due mainly to the attendance of older students, either because of extending the age limit for exemption from attendance or because the service performed appeals to employers and young workers alike as so worth while that many will attend voluntarily with their employers' approval. If the part-time school of the general continuation type should decline further, some other plan by which vocational preparation of similar kind can be obtained a few hours per week by young workers in lower level occupations along with their employment and during daylight hours will probably take its place. The shorter working week should make this possible.

It is worthy of note that while enrollments in part-time general continuation schools were declining, as indicated above, enrollments in part-time trade extension schools increased from 85,920 in 1928 to 221,145 in 1939. Many who attend these schools do so voluntarily. For the most part the youth attending trade extension part-time classes are older than those in the general continuation classes and a larger proportion attend voluntarily. In some cases they are apprentices, whether indentured or not.

Evening schools and classes. Vocational preparation in evening classes conducted by the public schools is so generally recognized as desirable where conditions warrant its establish-

ment that little discussion of it is necessary here. The principal purpose of this type of work is to supplement the daily experiences of adult workers and thus make them more proficient in the occupations in which they are already engaged. To some extent preparation for industrial occupations not yet entered is provided in evening schools. But the federal government, in disbursing money for evening classes in the industrial field, recognizes only trade extension work, or work supplementing daily employment. There were 156,464 students enrolled in such federally aided classes in the United States during the year ending June 30, 1939. The same year there were 216,034 taking federally aided evening courses in home economics and 181,962 taking similar courses in agriculture. For business occupations many city school systems offer in evening classes both preparation in advance of employment and further preparation after employment begins, but federal aid is not available for either, except in case of the distributive aspects of business education.

In the smaller school systems, difficulties similar to those already discussed in considering preparation for industrial occupations in advance of employment are encountered in providing vocational education in evening classes. Some of these difficulties might be overcome by extending the Benton Harbor plan of supervised correspondence study to evening school work.

Evening schools will no doubt continue to be an important means of providing vocational extension education for adult workers of all ages. In performing this function they will add new courses from time to time to meet new needs arising from development of new industries, as has been done recently in air conditioning. But the new legislation enacted from time to time affecting agriculture, industry, and business places new responsibilities on evening vocational schools. For example, workers in industry need such opportunities as public evening schools can provide to study the provisions of the National Security Act, the National Labor Relations Act, the National Wages and Hours Act, and other national and state acts of similar character. They need opportunities to discuss under competent, unprejudiced leadership the fundamentals of economics and industrial history.

All these phases belong in industrial education just as truly as does trade extension training. There is growing recognition of

the fact that industrial education is education for the life of an industrial worker and is, therefore, much broader than training in skills and technical knowledge. Agricultural education is fast becoming education for a way of life and not merely a means of making two blades of grass grow where one grew before. The same must become true to a far larger extent than at present of commercial, home economics, and industrial education, not only in evening schools but also in all-day, part-time and every other type of vocational school.

Preparation on the job. Thus far attention has been given only to those types of vocational education which are carried on in connection with schools. While plant schools have not been mentioned, what has been said applies to them as well as to public schools.

It is a well-known fact, however, that an immense amount of vocational education takes place in employment without any time set aside for instructional purposes. A foreman or a fellow worker helps the learner by means of a demonstration here or a suggestion there. The learner picks up other needed skill and knowledge by combining observation of the work of others with trial-and-error methods of his own. Some learn occupations involving considerable skill in this way. Great numbers entering semiskilled and low-grade skilled occupations are now wholly dependent upon this method of learning their work. While it must be expected that the all-day vocational schools, the diversified occupations program, the part-time classes, and the evening classes will meet this situation better in the future than they have in the past, a great deal of vocational education will continue to be obtained on the job.

Many vocational educators insist that this is the employer's responsibility and that public schools should do nothing about it. But these same educators insist that vocational education is a public responsibility; and this is vocational education. Since, as was pointed out earlier, the public finally pays for vocational education however obtained, and since business and industry are not organized to do this educational job efficiently, we must expect public school systems, in cooperation with industrial, business, and labor leaders, to bring about more effective methods of training on the job. Perhaps the actual training will still remain with industry and business but, if so, society's educational

agency, the public school system, will help to make it more effective and more economical than at present. The training of foremen in the work of teaching new recruits is, to be sure, a beginning in this direction but much more needs to be done.

Preparation for change of occupation. The necessity of providing preparation for change in employment has recently been forced upon public attention in a striking manner. That technological unemployment, the development of new industries, and voluntary changes of occupation, to say nothing of dismissals on account of depression conditions or for other reasons, will make this a permanent problem cannot be doubted. Every year a large number of adult workers will be obliged to change occupations.

More ample provision for industrial reeducation is necessary in order to meet the situation. In some cases the change can be anticipated and the needed preparation obtained before leaving the old job. In other cases the change comes suddenly and the worker finds himself in a new job for which supplemental training must be obtained. In many cases a period, often a long period, of unemployment accompanies the change, and preparation can be obtained while the individual is unemployed.

To meet the first of these conditions, industrial preparatory work, perhaps in new fields outside of working hours, will be needed. To meet the second, trade extension courses such as have long been provided, but in new as well as old fields. To meet the third, intensive, all-day industrial preparatory work. In all cases careful vocational counseling should precede choice of the new occupation for which preparation is made. With the shorter working week, Saturday forenoons may well take the place of evenings for a growing percentage of this work.

Relation of economic and social trends to vocational preparation. From what has been said in this chapter it is quite obvious that vocational education leaders need constantly to be alert to the changes that are taking place in business and industry, and in social institutions generally, if the program of vocational preparation is to serve its purpose effectively. The trend toward entrance into occupational life at a later age has given rise to important questions affecting the all-day, part-time, and diversified-occupations programs.

Technological unemployment is constantly bringing up new problems of vocational reeducation in order that those displaced may reenter employment life as advantageously as possible.

The trend toward breaking up a skilled occupation into a group of specialized occupations still continues, bringing with it the necessity for changes in content and methods of preparation and in some cases transferring the preparation from one type of vocational school or class to another.

The development of new industries based upon recent inventions calls for the organization of new courses in order that workers may be prepared for the occupations involved. The list of such inventions mentioned in 1937 by the National Resources Committee in its report on social planning includes: the mechanical cotton picker, air-conditioning equipment, plastics, the photoelectric cell, artificial cotton and woolen fibers made from cellulose, synthetic rubber, prefabricated houses, television, facsimile transmission, the automobile trailer, gasoline produced from coal, steep-flight aircraft, and tray agriculture. If the probable effects of these inventions deserve study for purposes of social planning they certainly deserve attention in relation to their effects upon vocational education which is an essential part of social planning.

Unless these and other trends are watched with care by educational leaders and necessary changes made promptly when the need for change is clear, vocational education will be, as it has often been in the past, preparation for occupations already outmoded instead of for work that lies ahead.[1]

Vocational preparation an expanding service. The past two decades have seen an enormous expansion of vocational education

[1] The significance for vocational education of long-time trends in productive enterprise appears clearly in the following: "From the building of the Pyramids down to the present day, the proportion of the world's work of the nature of mere physical digging, pushing, carrying, lifting, and hammering, by the exertion of muscular force, has almost continuously diminished. From the cutting of the canal at Corinth to the cutting of that at Panama, the share of the thinker, the architect, the designer, the draftsman, the engineer, the toolmaker, the accountant, and the clerk, in every productive enterprise has become steadily larger; and the proportion of workers so engaged has grown accordingly." SIDNEY WEBB and BEATRICE WEBB, "Labor," in *Whither Mankind*, edited by Charles A. Beard, Chap. V, p. 140, New York: Longmans, Green & Company, 1928.

in America. Passage of the Smith-Hughes Act in 1917, providing federal aid for agricultural, homemaking, and industrial education of less than college grade, did much to stimulate this expansion. Additional federal appropriations authorized by the George-Deen Act of 1936 gave the movement further impetus. The flooding of high schools in recent years with youth who would be in full-time employment if conditions had remained as they were two or three decades ago has forced school authorities to give more attention to the needs of the 85 per cent of high school graduates who do not go to college.

The public generally is more ready today than at any time in the past to support an educational program rich in its vocational aspects for these youth. There is every reason to believe that vocational education will continue to expand, mainly along lines discussed above, and will take a larger place in programs of public education, as American youth remain longer in school and the demand for adult education becomes more insistent. It seems likely that this expanding vocational preparation will be broader than it has generally been in the past; that it will be concerned with the way of life of the industrial worker, the farmer, the business worker, and the homemaker as well as with proficiency in doing the things of particular occupations; and that social and economic aspects of the occupation or group of occupations to which the worker belongs will be given greater emphasis.

Summary

Vocational preparation is an essential part of the problem of transfer from school to occupational life, with which vocational guidance is concerned.

The public finally pays for vocational preparation, however it is provided. The public should, therefore, see that this preparation is provided efficiently and economically. Also, "equal educational opportunity for all" is an empty slogan unless the public assumes this responsibility. Industry is organized to do production jobs. Vocational preparation is an educational job. The interests of the two types of jobs often conflict to the disadvantage of the latter, when vocational preparation is provided wholly by the employer. The school system is the public's chosen agency set up for the purpose of doing educational jobs. From the point of view of the interests of society as a whole, of the

individual learner, and of the employer, the school system must carry the responsibility for vocational preparation. However, it is necessary that the school system work in cooperation with employers and organized workers in this matter. Only through a continuing survey in which these three groups participate can the vocational education needs of a community be properly determined.

Three general types of vocational education have developed in American secondary schools:

1. Preparation before employment begins.
2. Preparation in connection with employment.
3. Preparation for change of employment.

All three of these are found under public school supervision in varying proportions in the fields of agriculture, business, homemaking, and industry. There is growing interest in training youth on the preemployment plan for a group or family of occupations before preparation for a specific occupation is begun. Supervised correspondence courses have been introduced in many high schools to supplement the training provided on the pre-employment plan. Vocational preparation in connection with employment is provided for apprentices and others who work half-time, for apprentices and others who work full-time and attend evening classes, and for semiskilled and other workers who obtain their preparation wholly on the job. In recent years various plans of preparation for change of jobs have been set up to meet the needs of workers thrown out of employment by technological changes in industry.

The trend toward entrance into employment at a later age, increased technological unemployment, the continued breaking up of skilled occupations into groups of specialties, the development of new industries based upon recent inventions, and other developments of a social and economic nature are constantly making readjustments in vocational education necessary. In order to meet changing conditions and because of growing popular interest stimulated by federal aid, vocational education seems destined to continue the expansion and the readjustment which have marked its recent history.

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CHAPTER XV

THE PLACEMENT SERVICE

Objections to placement as a school function. Even among ardent supporters of vocational guidance, there are those who insist that the schools should not undertake to help young people find employment when they leave school. It is argued that the knowledge a youth has obtained through the occupational information courses, exploratory experiences, and individual counseling should guard him against any serious mistakes in obtaining employment, that such mistakes as are made will soon be corrected by a change in employment, and that it is a mistake in the direction of too great paternalism to deprive the individual of the opportunity and necessity to exercise his own initiative and ingenuity in finding his own job.

It is insisted, also, that where the placement service is included in the school program it is extremely difficult to keep it from monopolizing attention and support that belongs to other aspects of vocational guidance. It is pointed out, moreover, that in most communities a youth seeking his first job now has access to the state employment service whose business is to find employment opportunities for young as well as older workers. Why duplicate in the school system costly services for which other provision is made at public expense? Let the schools confine their attention, it is argued, to providing adequate assistance in choosing and preparing for vocations and leave placement to the agency whose business is job finding.

Vocational guidance program incomplete without placement. In support of including placement in the school program of vocational guidance, whether done directly by the school system or in cooperation with the local office of the state employment service, it is maintained that the whole program is left in mid-air, unfinished, if provision for this service is not included; that getting off to a good start in the chosen occupation is quite as important as choosing it, and there is no more reason to expect the unaided

youth to do the one to the best advantage than the other. If left to his own devices he may find employment that gives him just the desired opportunity. On the other hand, he may begin work in his chosen field under conditions that are very unfavorable to his future growth and advancement. Or failing after repeated efforts to find the desired opportunity, he may take any job he can get regardless of its relationship to what he had hoped to do. Or, in extremely dull times, he may even be unable to find any employment at all for many months, in which case his morale is almost sure to suffer serious impairment at the same time that the edge of his interest is dulled and the benefits of his preparation are lost. Let the school system finish what it has begun and help the youth get off to a good start in the occupation which it helped him to choose and for which it provided him with a certain amount of preparation.

School placement office in position to render a discriminating service. Certainly a well-managed school placement office for youth leaving school to enter employment will have available, or be in position to obtain, much more complete and reliable information concerning the different openings in a given occupation—where these openings are, their peculiar requirements, opportunities for promotion within the organization concerned, whether the management is interested in developing its young workers or merely in exploiting them, and the like—than an individual student can possibly obtain on his own account. On the other hand, such an office will have available through the counselors' records in the different schools much more complete information concerning the youth who have chosen to enter a particular occupation than employers could possibly obtain from any other source. It must be granted that bringing these two together is a service of great value to the prospective young worker and to the employer alike when performed in an honest and discriminating manner.

Student initiative not eliminated by placement. This service does not necessarily eliminate the exercise of initiative or ingenuity on the part of the individual seeking placement. It does not, or should not, say to a boy: "Here is just the right job for you. Report tomorrow morning to Mr. X and he will start you at work." Even if this were possible it would not be fair either to boy or to employer. In the first place the boy may ignore the

placement office altogether if he sees fit and find his own job. In the second place, if he asks the aid of the placement office, as he should be encouraged to do, he will still have the responsibility of deciding whether he would like the particular position that the office brings to his attention and the further responsibility of applying for the position and convincing the employer that he is the best individual available for it.

Whether he learns of the position through his own efforts or through the placement office, the task of "selling" his services to the employer is still his and calls for initiative and ingenuity. The difference is in the ease with which he finds a promising market, the more complete knowledge in advance of what he may expect in the nature of opportunities if he makes the sale, and usually a more favorable initial attitude on the part of the prospective buyer. It cannot be doubted that in many cases the youth is saved by the placement office from a discouraging and wasteful period of search which would have ended in acceptance of employment quite different from the occupation which he had chosen and for which he had prepared.

Placement service aid to other vocational guidance activities. It is true that placement work tends to attract public attention more than other aspects of the guidance program. The very nature of its work requires that it attract attention. The school placement office is in a sense the sales organization for disposal of the school system's product, or for that part of it which does not go to higher institutions for further preparation. A sales organization that does not attract attention is a failure. Looking at the matter from another angle, a report of the placement office to the effect that 1,000 boys and girls who were leaving school were placed in positions last year is likely to prove more interesting to the average school-board member than a report that 5,000 counseling interviews were held with pupils in the same length of time.

But a wise leader of the vocational guidance program and a wise superintendent of schools will make it clear that real success in these placements depends upon the quality of the occupational information courses, the tryout experiences, the individual counseling, and the vocational preparatory work done before the time of placement arrived; just as the success of a sales department is determined by the earlier work done in the factory. There is no

good reason why placement work, even though more spectacular, should detract in any way from adequate support of other parts of the guidance program. Indeed, quite the reverse should be true. Successful placement work should attract attention and support to the entire program. Also, through the contacts of placement workers with industry and business, the prestige of the school system in the community should be increased and suggestions for improvement of its work as a whole obtained.

Advisability of leaving the placement service to public employment offices. With the development of the federal-state employment service[1] has come a tendency to expect local offices of this service to handle the placement of youth who are leaving school along with that of adults. When this service was authorized by the Wagner-Peyser Act of 1933, it was contemplated that a national federation of state public employment offices would result, guided by federal standards and under federal supervision, but locally administered. At the time this is written all the 48 states are operating employment services in cooperation with the federal government under this act. For example, Michigan maintains 1 state, 7 district, and 55 local free employment offices. Each local office is expected to serve a definite area surrounding the city in which it is located, the entire state thus being covered by the service. In connection with administration of the National Security Act it is required that every claimant for unemployment compensation benefits register for work at his local employment office of the state employment service and report regularly to this office as proof of availability for work and of continued eligibility for unemployment benefit payments.

Certain advantages of this setup are at once apparent. Assistance in obtaining a job is thus available, in theory at least, to every employable individual in the state, young as well as old. It would seem that the adequacy of this assistance is reasonably well assured, since the office is financed jointly by federal and state funds and its work is under the supervision of both federal and state authorities. Since the same office is concerned with unemployment compensation, all in the area served who are

[1] Originally set up in the U.S. Department of Labor, the U.S. Employment Service was transferred July 1, 1939, to the new Federal Security Agency. The name has since been changed to U.S. Bureau of Employment Security.

eligible for such compensation must register and maintain contacts with this office. Thus young workers seeking reemployment are already familiar with the local office of the state employment service. On account of its necessary contacts with employers and the varied services it performs, no other agency in the area is likely to have such complete information concerning local employment opportunities and requirements.

Then, too, a special youth-placement program, covering the ages seventeen to twenty-five, is encouraged by the U.S. Bureau of Employment Security and is in process of development in many of the states. Several of the state employment service offices have appointed state supervisors of junior placement. Also, special junior divisions have been set up in many of the local offices with a junior counselor or placement officer in charge.

For example, the Indiana State Employment Service, in addition to providing for the registration of youth in all of its offices, has established in six different cities a Junior Division under the direction of a Junior Division Counselor to place and follow up youth "who are not yet occupationally mature." In Michigan junior counselors have been placed in 54 offices of the state employment service for the purpose of giving special attention to the employment problems of young people sixteen to twenty-five years of age. It is an advantage to the youth seeking employment to have the help of an office that is coordinated with many other offices of the same kind in other parts of the state and in other states. If the local office does not have a suitable employment opportunity for the youth, possibly one of the others may.

On the other hand, the history of such work indicates that it is extremely difficult to keep public employment offices free of objectionable political influences. Also, concerned primarily with the employment problems of adults, these agencies have a tendency to neglect the needs of the young and to think of qualifications of an individual in terms of work experiences, which only a few of the younger group have had even in limited measure, though this tendency should be less pronounced in those offices which carry on a special placement program for youth. Actually, none of these offices is yet very effective in serving youth of its own area who live outside the city in which it is located, to say nothing of serving those who may be brought

to its attention by offices in other areas. Finally, when a youth comes to an office of the state employment service for help in finding suitable employment it is quite likely that inadequate attention will be given to the mass of data gathered concerning his aptitudes, interests, achievements, and personality traits while in school. With no administrative connection between the employment office and the school system, the tendency is for each to work independently of the other, notwithstanding commendable efforts at coordination of activities.

With regard to these difficulties, however, it may be argued that bringing the employment-office personnel under civil service practically eliminates political influences and results in a qualified personnel; that the youth-placement program, with its own personnel and policies, will assure proper attention to the placement problems of youth as contrasted with those of adults; and that a cooperative arrangement between employment office and school system, already in effect in some cities, will make possible proper use of the valuable data brought together by the schools concerning their pupils.

Even if it appears that in theory the advantages in vocational placement of youth lie with the state employment service offices over placement directly by the school systems that have educated these youth, in actual practice there is still a strong case for the latter plan. A school system which is concerned with the education of an individual for eight to twelve years accumulates a mass of information concerning that individual and an interest in him as a person, especially if a well-planned program of vocational guidance is in effect; a state employment office cannot possibly acquire such data in a few brief contacts. Nor can this information and interest be passed on to any other agency by the schools without great loss. It is far easier for the employment office to pass on to the schools the information that it gathers concerning employment opportunities or to cooperate with the schools in bringing this information together.

Then, too, the values to the school system itself of carrying responsibility for helping its youth to enter employment life advantageously are very great. Members of the school system's own staff thus make daily contacts with industry and business. They learn of weaknesses in the preparation for employment life provided by the school and bring back ideas and suggestions for

improvement of the curriculum and of teaching methods. They bring to employers with whom they confer concerning placement of youth an understanding and appreciation of what the schools are doing to prepare youth for employment, often changing critics of the school system into loyal supporters. It will be unfortunate for school system and employers alike, particularly for the school system, if they find it necessary to deal with a middleman—the state employment office—instead of dealing directly each with the other.

In short, the state employment office in any community at best can do nothing for prospective young workers that cannot be done at least equally well by an efficient school placement office, while the latter, because it is part of the school system, can do much that is impossible to the former; and at the same time the school system itself is greatly benefited by doing this work.

Placement an educational service. Besides, and this is the kernel of the problem, the transfer of youth from school to occupational activities is an *educational service* and thus is a proper function of society's chosen educational agency, the school system. This transfer must come to be looked upon as one step in the educational progress of the individual, just as transfer from one school to the next higher school is now considered such a step. High schools recognize responsibility for helping the relatively small number of their graduates who plan to continue their education in college or other educational institution to select the institution, gain admission to it, and make the transfer as advantageously as possible. It is time that school systems recognize a like responsibility to the much larger number who plan to continue their education by means of work experiences; for the first few years of employment life make immensely important contributions to the education of any individual. Thus, helping an individual to get off to a good start in employment life is really helping him to find a good opportunity for his continued development or education, that education to which the schools have been making their contribution for several years.

Relationship of the federal-state employment service to placement of youth. While the school systems of several cities in the United States have maintained for years more or less effective placement services for youth, it must be granted that,

as far as the needs of the country as a whole are concerned, little more than a beginning has been made. Responsibility for action rests with local school authorities, which move slowly in developing new services, especially when handicapped financially as they have been for more than a decade. In the meantime the U.S. Bureau of Employment Security and state employment services with their aggressive national and state leadership, reasonably ample funds, and an organization that expects to reach down into every community, have launched a youth-placement program. In view of these conditions what relationship between these two interested agencies seems desirable?

In the judgment of the author, authorities who are responsible for developing the policies of the federal-state employment service should recognize that placement of youth to twenty-one years of age, and possibly older, is an educational service. Up to this age their youth-placement program would be wholly one of cooperation with the schools to the end that this educational service may be performed effectively. This cooperation would include supplying the schools with information concerning employment opportunities and requirements in occupations; developing vocational proficiency tests and maintaining a test service in this field for school students and young workers as well as for adults; experimenting with tests and other measures of aptitudes, interests, and personality traits, and informing school placement offices of the results; and other activities of similar nature. They should also subsidize school placement programs, as they have already done in some places on an experimental basis. In Philadelphia, for example, instead of setting up a new placement office for youth, the state employment office of that city helped to finance more adequately the placement work which had been carried on for many years by the city school system.

When the fixed age in the life of the individual is reached, the local office of the state employment service would then take over full responsibility for placement. The school system would now become the cooperating agency and would furnish such records, reports, and other information concerning individuals as might be helpful, keep the state employment office informed concerning evening courses and other educational opportunities available, and organize new special courses and other educational services that might be required.

It is obvious that, whatever arrangements are made for placing youth in employment, there must be a high degree of cooperation between the schools and the public employment offices.[1]

Placement office activities.—Enough has been said already to give an idea of the general nature of the placement service which should be incorporated in a comprehensive program of vocational guidance and adjustment. However, a more systematic and detailed consideration of this service is desirable. What is involved in it? What are the steps through which the process of placement advances from the time it is decided that a student is to leave school until he is working successfully and with favorable outlook in an occupation for which he is suited?

The phrasing of the last question, as well as the discussion found in the pages immediately preceding, indicates that placement is not merely finding jobs for boys and girls who are leaving school. It is a much more complicated and discriminating piece of work than that. It may well include conferences between the student who is leaving and his counselor, a report concerning the student from counselor to placement worker, one or more interviews by the placement worker with the student during which registration is completed, a call on the prospective employer by the student, reports from the student to the placement office,

[1] The American Youth Commission published in 1940 a report on a study of the plans followed in Providence where the placement of youth is centralized in the schools with financial assistance provided by the state employment service; in St. Louis where this service is centralized in the local employment office of the state employment service, the schools and the National Youth Administration cooperating; and in Baltimore where both the state employment service and the local school system provide placement services. Dallas and rural areas adjacent to Baltimore and St. Louis also were included in the project. The general conclusion reached was that

"In the end, constructive results come not so much from insistence on any one plan of organization as from such universally essential things as competent professional leadership, recognition of the need for cooperation under any system, and sympathetic public support."—FLOYD W. REEVES, "After the Youth Surveys—What?" *Occupations: The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, XVIII (January, 1940), 247.

This conclusion leaves unanswered the important question: Which type of organization is *most favorable* to obtaining the desired "competent professional leadership, recognition of the need for cooperation under any system, and sympathetic public support"? Nor does it recognize the placement of youth as an educational service, nor take account of the advantages which the school system itself derives from performing the placement service.

reports from the employer to the placement office, reports from placement office to the school counselor, additional placements if necessary, and additional conferences between the counselor and former student if desired by the latter.

The counselor's interview with student needing placement. The counselor's guidance interviews with students during previous years, discussed in a previous chapter, should make it the natural thing for a student to seek the counselor's advice as soon as leaving school to go to work becomes imminent. In addition, any teacher in the school who learns that a student is planning to leave for employment should report this information at once to the counselor. Further, it might be understood throughout the school that no student can leave in good standing for the purpose of going to work without first having an interview with the counselor. In this interview, whether voluntary on the pupil's part or brought about through the initiative of the counselor, the possibility of finding employment in a relatively short time in the occupation of the student's choice and the other possibility of having first to spend many months at some other work will be discussed.

The age of the student, the nature of the chosen occupation, and the general employment conditions of the time will all have a bearing on this discussion. Whether the student must have work of some kind at once or whether he can wait a few days or even weeks in order to obtain the kind of position he wants will be taken into account, as well as the data on the student's record card and self-analysis form. Any employment plans that the student may have already or that his parents may have for him will be considered. The counselor will discuss all these matters in the light of the information which he possesses as to employment opportunities for youth such as the one before him.

After talking over with his parents the points discussed in this interview, the student should return to the counselor for another interview, and perhaps for more than one. Out of these conferences with the counselor, the student should come with a pretty definite idea of the kind of job he would like and has a right to expect and the relation of this job to his chosen occupation. He should be aware that he may have to work for some time at a less desirable job before finding the employment opportunity that he seeks; and he should have some plan for using this

period in such manner as to fit himself better for the desired opportunity. Also, he should be urged to remain in school until a position is secured and to return to the counselor some time after employment begins in order to talk over further preparation and plans for advancement in his work. If the student wishes to make use of the placement office, which he should be encouraged to do, he is now ready to be sent there by the counselor.

Information needed by the placement office. Before the placement worker sees the student, he should have received the counselor's report giving the student's name, address, telephone number, age, grade, nationality, occupations of parents, intelligence rating, health record, school record, choice of occupation, moral and social qualities insofar as these have been recorded, evidence as to emotional stability, suggestions as to the general character of the first job desirable, and such other data as the vocational guidance department may have agreed upon as important for this occasion. If it is preferable, certain of this information may be furnished by the student as he fills out a registration card upon his first appearance at the placement office.

Of course, the placement office will have at hand information concerning available jobs. This office will have built up such relationships with many employers of young workers that when an opening for this kind of worker occurs a request will be sent immediately to the placement office, describing the position and the type of worker needed. With a few employers there will be an arrangement for the placement office to let them know whenever a promising youth interested in their line of work is seeking employment. The number of employers of these two types will gradually increase as the work of the placement office becomes more efficient and better known. The office will develop a system for finding out about other openings, making use for this purpose of those it has placed, communicating by telephone or letter with places likely to need young workers, and conducting employment opportunity surveys from time to time. In all of this work the cooperation of the state employment service will be sought. Naturally, the office will have on file as complete information as it can obtain concerning desirable and undesirable features of each position, and a list of the qualifications required.

Placement worker's interview with student. The interview between placement worker and student should serve several

purposes. In the first place it should aid this worker in deciding upon the positions for which he is willing to recommend the student, though the counselor's report will be given the greatest weight in this matter. In the second place it should help him in making his recommendation definite. In the third place it should give the student opportunity to learn about and weigh the merits of positions suggested by the placement worker In the fourth place it should aid the student in making his application to the prospective employer as effective as possible by calling the student's attention to defects of dress, manner, and personal appearance that should be corrected and by suggesting a good method of procedure in applying for the position he seeks, in order that he may make a good first impression.

Even a little training in how to apply for a job often proves a deciding factor in favor of the applicant. While discussion of things to be observed in applying for a position would undoubtedly have taken place in the vocational information class, it is nevertheless a good plan for the placement worker to bring these matters to the youth's attention just before he starts out to make the application.

At the close of the interview, the placement worker will either send the youth to apply for a job, giving him a letter of introduction to the prospective employer, or tell him that he will be notified as soon as the placement office learns of a suitable opening. Of course, the placement worker *will take account of the job's money value, its value in training the young worker, and its value in establishing a work history,* and weigh these in relation to the abilities and needs of the individual in proposing jobs for which application is to be made.

Reports concerning placement. It goes without saying that the student will be expected to report back to the placement office whether he was employed and, if so, the wages he receives and the nature of the work he does. It is to be expected, also, that the employer will send in a similar report. As a matter of fact, however, the placement office will often find it necessary to obtain this information by telephone or by a visit to the place of employment, even though the young applicant carries with him when he makes application an addressed postal card form for such a report or a duplicate form, one part to be filled out and returned by himself and the other part by his employer.

The report from the placement office to the counselor after the student is placed would give a brief summary of the case, indicating whether it was necessary to recommend him to more than one employer, stating the character of the work the youth is doing and the name of his employer, and suggesting any special training the young worker should obtain in order to fit himself better for his work or to prepare for promotion. This information would then be available for use if the youth, as he was urged to do, should come back for one or more later interviews with the counselor.

Primary concern of placement office the interests of youth. It has been suggested that a placement office will gain the cooperation and support of employers of youth if it consistently performs a discriminating service. This implies careful study of the needs of employers before recommending young workers. Genuine effort to meet the needs and even the idiosyncrasies of employers is necessary if a desirable relationship with them is to prevail. However, a placement worker will make a serious mistake if he considers his obligations to employers above those to the youth who seek his help. His first obligation is to the latter. Whatever else happens he must give his best service to aiding each youth to get off to a good start in employment life. Usually he will find that in doing this he is best serving employers also. But if a conflict arises between the interests of these two there can be no question that his decision should be in favor of youth. Even if such a decision brings temporary embarrassment it will win approval and support ultimately.

Central placement office best. Running through all this discussion has been the assumption that there will be a single central placement office for the entire school system. In some cities, placement work has been carried on for years to a greater or less extent by one or more of the high schools. Where this has been the case the tendency is, when a comprehensive guidance program is undertaken, either to extend this plan to all the high and vocational schools or to allow it to continue in those where it already exists, notwithstanding the establishment of a central office for placement purposes.

A single central office in charge of all placement work of the school system will be found to have many advantages over either of these other arrangements. Perhaps the most important of

these advantages will be better cooperation from employers. If the average employer learns that he can draw upon the available supply of young labor from the entire school system by calling a single office on the telephone, he is much more likely to do this than if he knows his call will bring him only such service as one school can give. He will be more ready to submit reports and assist in other ways if he is dealing with one office rather than with several.

The central office likewise opens up to each pupil who is leaving school the employment opportunities in his field afforded by the entire city. Good administrative policy also demands a central office for placement work. It is argued that the central office cannot possibly have that intimate knowledge of the pupil's characteristics and qualifications which is obtained by the counselor and that, therefore, central office placement is likely to become a card-catalogue, mechanical sort of thing. This difficulty can be overcome, or largely so, if there is cordial cooperation between central office and counselors in carrying on the placement work. As one placement officer aptly expresses it, "Counseling becomes practical and placement becomes educational in direct proportion to the extent of cooperation between the counselor and the placement officer." Of course, in the small school system the two functions will be performed by the same individual.

Placement a problem of large proportions. When it is recalled that nearly 2 million boys and girls and young men and women leave our schools and colleges annually seeking opportunities in wage-earning occupations, the enormous proportions of the placement problem are apparent. The difficulties of the problem are intensified by the fact that the great majority of these youth need placement help within a period of a few weeks at the end of the school year. Then a veritable flood of graduates and others pour from the schools eager for employment. Of the 2 million, a great many, of course, will find their own positions; but the number who will wish to avail themselves of the placement service of the schools will be very large, especially in cities of 50,000 or more population. Would not the cost of maintaining the needed placement machinery at ordinary times be prohibitive? And would not this machinery be utterly swamped with work at the end of each school year?

School superintendents and boards of education have a way of finding money for things which they are convinced should be done. School placement work, if well done, is so obviously worth while that there need be no fear for its financial support, once those in authority are brought to realize its possibilities. The danger, as noted earlier, is rather that it will get more than its share of the money apportioned to vocational guidance. Several city school systems are now financing fairly adequate placement offices, and will put more money into this work as developments justify it. Besides, as noted earlier, it is to be hoped that financial assistance for this work will come from federal and state funds through the state employment service.

Load of placement work unevenly distributed. In some respects it is unfortunate that so large a part of the annual supply of young labor becomes available at one time; namely, at the close of the school year. The situation has been much improved by semiannual promotions which cause a considerable number of graduates and others to leave in midwinter, but this still leaves placement work congested at two comparatively brief periods instead of distributed fairly evenly throughout the year.

Possibly it may be found desirable to organize reservoir classes for those young people who are awaiting employment after graduation, providing them with special instruction in preparation for wage earning. Part of the instruction might be vocational and part civic and economic in character. These classes could then be drawn upon through the placement office to recruit the supply of young workers as needed in the community. Such an arrangement is not very different from what Boston school authorities did several years ago when they required continuation-school children temporarily out of employment to spend 20 hours per week in the continuation school. In some high schools graduates now are encouraged to remain in school for post-graduate work until they are placed.

Even better than any of these arrangements would be the Adjustment Institute discussed in the next chapter. However, at present the best the average placement office can do when it becomes swamped with prospective young workers once or twice a year is to place advantageously as many as possible, place others in temporary positions with the understanding that they will be helped later to obtain the kind of work they should have,

and make others wait until opportunities for their employment are more favorable. Fairness and a knowledge of home conditions are necessary in determining what to do in each case. If anyone objects or becomes impatient, he is at liberty to seek employment for himself. Even though the work which a placement office can do in these periods of stress is far from satisfactory, nevertheless it should be far more successful than the efforts of the majority of those who attempt to find employment without availing themselves of placement aid.

Relation of placement to counseling. In some cities, the placement office does a large amount of vocational counseling in connection with its placement work. Usually this is due to the fact that other parts of the vocational guidance program are not well developed in the school system. In a comprehensive program of vocational guidance it is well to keep the vocational counseling function and the placement function fairly distinct.

It is, to be sure, part of the work of the placement worker to counsel the applicant concerning specific employment opportunities as they relate to his choice of occupation and his personality. It is inevitable that at times some discussion will take place between the two as to the suitability of the choice of occupation, particularly in connection with second and later placements. But the placement worker should recognize always that his job deals primarily with *advantageous entry* of the youth into an occupation already chosen. It is the duty of the school from which the youth comes to help him make the choice.

The school which has him under its supervision 6 hours a day for several years, which directs his study of occupations, which provides him with tryout experiences, which has a counselor to gather and study data concerning his physical, mental, social, and temperamental characteristics and to help him interpret occupational information and tryout experiences in relation to his personal qualities and limitations, is much more able to do this than is a placement worker who sees him for a few minutes on one or two or even half a dozen occasions. On this account it is usually better for the placement worker to send back to the counselor from whom he came any youth whose choice of occupation seems unsuitable, whether this is discovered at the time of the first interview or in connection with a second, third, or even later placement. In every case of this sort the placement

worker should send the counselor a statement of his reasons for coming to the conclusion that the choice is unsuitable, especially any information from the youth's employers which bears on the subject.

Summary

A vocational guidance program is incomplete—unfinished—if it does not include a placement service. Entering occupational life advantageously, getting off to a good start, is quite as important as choosing and preparing for a suitable occupation. The placement office of a school system helps youth to sell their services in a favorable market. Well administered, it strengthens the rest of the program and builds up the prestige of the schools in the community.

The federal-state employment service is assuming the task of placing youth as well as adults. Better financed than school placement offices, closer to employment, and possessing an integrated organization that covers the entire country, this service has certain advantages. On the other hand, school people know the youth of the community, are trained to work with youth, are unhampered by political considerations, and can more easily obtain any needed additional information concerning employment opportunities than they can pass on to public employment offices the needed information concerning the youth of the community. Besides, transfer from school to occupational activities is essentially an *educational service*, concerned with making sure that youth are so placed that their development, carried on for years in the schools, is continued in the early years of employment life. Better results for youth, for the schools, and for society seem assured if placement of youth to twenty-one years of age, perhaps to twenty-five, is recognized as a function of the school system with financial and other assistance from the federal-state employment service. Cordial cooperation between these two agencies is necessary, however the job is done.

Placement is not mere job finding. It is a complicated and discriminating undertaking. It involves conferences between the youth and his school counselor, a report by the counselor to the placement office, interviews by the placement worker with the youth, calls by the youth on prospective employers, reports from the youth and the prospective employer to the placement

office, reports from placement office to counselor, additional placements and additional conferences and reports if necessary or desirable. All these activities call for careful planning and well-considered techniques. Often special training in how to apply for a job, even a particular job, is required. In all of this the interests of youth are paramount but the interests of employers demand consideration also.

One central placement office for the school system better opens employment opportunities of the entire city to youth and is more convenient for employers. Placement of youth as they leave school, a task of large proportions, is unevenly distributed during the year. Efforts to spread the work more evenly have met with only moderate success. The Adjustment Institute described in the next chapter should be helpful in this task. The placement worker does some counseling but with reference to the individual youth's fitness for a particular job rather than concerning choice of an occupation. If a change in choice of occupation seems desirable for a youth seeking placement, that youth's school counselor may well be called upon for assistance.

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CHAPTER XVI

THE FOLLOW-UP OR ADJUSTMENT SERVICE

Important as an efficient placement service is in helping youth get off to a good start in occupational life, it is quite apparent that further assistance is needed in making adjustments and taking advantage of opportunities in the months that follow induction into employment. This further assistance has been called the follow-up or adjustment service.

Determining adjustment needs. If a service of this kind is to function in a comprehensive and genuinely helpful manner some systematic procedure for ascertaining the needs of young workers is necessary. It cannot be taken for granted that each one who has been placed will discover these needs for himself and come back uninvited to the placement office for assistance in meeting them. To be sure, in case the need is for a new job, he probably will come back if the placement office served him well in the first place. But the young worker has many other needs, as will be seen more clearly later. He may be painfully conscious of some of these, dimly conscious of others, and wholly unconscious of others. And, naturally, the needs will differ and the consciousness of them on the part of different individuals.

Reference was made in the previous chapter to reports to be filed with the placement office by the youth and by the employer immediately after employment begins. Another report from the youth at the end of the first month covering a description of his duties, further preparation needed for the work, how he gets on with his boss and with his fellow workers, agreeable and disagreeable features of the job, and how he uses his leisure time would be one valuable means of arriving at the youth's adjustment needs. Similar reports after four months, one year, and possibly two years would be helpful. Of course, reports from the employer covering such matters as the adequacy of the young worker's preparation, specific further preparation needed, his attitudes, his relations with fellow workers, and opportunities that lie ahead would be of great value.

Another method of arriving at the adjustment needs of young workers involves calls at their places of employment by representatives of the school system for the purpose of observing their work and making brief inquiries of their foremen or supervisors. Many placement offices depend largely and some wholly on telephone calls in obtaining the desired information. Valuable as telephone calls may be in the follow-up service, they alone cannot possibly take the place of the more carefully considered written reports and the personal calls just mentioned. And, to be sure, an important means of determining needs of young workers will always be the personal calls they themselves make at the offices of their former vocational counselors and other members of the school system's staff. If proper arrangements for such calls are made many employed youth will take advantage of them. Fitch reports one placement secretary attached to a large vocational school who never places a graduate in the first job without inducing him to agree that he will not quit of his own accord without first consulting her.[1]

At once objections are raised to the difficulties and the expense encountered in obtaining this needed information. It is argued that neither the young worker nor the employer will take the trouble to file written reports, even though forms for the purpose and return postage are provided; and calls at places of employment by representatives of the placement office are out of the question because of the expense to the school system and the inconvenience to employers.

A company manufacturing automobiles finds it not only possible but profitable to spend a large sum of money each year in providing free service for a time on every car it turns out. After driving a new car 1,000 miles the purchaser is asked to bring it in for a free inspection and to report any defects that he has discovered. He is expected to do the same thing again when the car has completed 2,000 miles. Any defective parts discovered or any adjustments needed within the first three months or 4,000 miles (whichever is reached first) are cared for by the manufacturer without charge to the purchaser. In other words, automobile companies consider it good business to make ample provisions for following up their product, as well as for producing

[1] John A. Fitch, *Vocational Guidance in Action*, p. 143, New York: Columbia University Press, 1935.

and selling (or placing) it. They are so much concerned about how their product performs and how it pleases their public that they are willing to spend freely on this follow-up service.

Surely youth deserve as much consideration on the part of the social institution which prepares them to function in an adult society, especially when it is realized that the first few years of this functioning really contribute enormously to the very process of education which the schools have been fostering in these same youth. Ultimately the schools must be expected to go to great pains and expense in order to perform a comprehensive follow-up service for their product. This service will no doubt concern itself with other aspects of life as well as with vocational adjustments.

It is not enough, however, to depend wholly on formal reports from young workers and their employers, on telephone and personal calls on employers by representatives of the school system, and on calls at counselors' offices by the young people concerned, valuable as these may be. A former principal, vocational counselor, home-room teacher, subject teacher, or athletic coach may pick up in chance or planned conversation with a young worker information concerning his occupational adjustment problems that is very significant. Certainly much more can be done than is done at present in bringing together for study and analysis such information of this nature as is gathered by various members of the school staff. Every member of the staff might well feel obligated both to be on the alert for such information and to file it in written form with the youth's former vocational counselor. And similar information gathered in like manner from employers of these former students will prove of great value also.

Fundamental to the effective working of any follow-up procedure in determining the needs of young workers is an entire program of vocational guidance that wins and holds their confidence and cooperation by means of valuable services rendered. A youth who is convinced that he has been helped in choosing a suitable vocation, in making needed preparation for it, and in obtaining his first position is much more ready to send in reports or make them in person when requested to do so than is one who considers that he benefited little from these earlier services of the program.

In like manner, an employer who is pleased with the young workers who have come to him through the placement service and who has been called upon to supply the schools with occupational information or to help in working out a vocational education program for his industry is much more ready to report concerning the young workers in his employ than is the employer whose relations with the school system have left him with an unfavorable impression of that institution. Whatever procedure is used in determining follow-up needs must be based on other vocational guidance services that are really functioning.

The need in connection with a second or later placement. As suggested earlier, the one need which is most likely to bring a young worker back to the placement office is that for help in finding a new job. But beneath this immediate need is that for assistance in analyzing the situation in which he finds himself. Why is he out of a job? Did he quit voluntarily because he disliked the work? While the work itself was satisfactory, did the working conditions cause him to decide on a change? Did his employer discharge him? If so, was it because of inefficiency, wrong attitudes, general reduction of the working force? Did the employer fail in business? Is a labor strike responsible? In the light of the reason for his unemployment and of his work experience, will it be easier or harder to get a new job? Should he try for a new job in the same occupation or in a new one? The kind of assistance that a youth receives in this critical experience may affect favorably or unfavorably his entire working life. Of course, he should understand, before assistance is given him in finding a new job, that the reasons for his leaving the former one have been investigated carefully from his employer's point of view as well as from his own and have been entered upon his record in the placement office.

Need for help in leaving a job that is no longer desirable. As has been pointed out, it is quite as true that some young workers remain in jobs longer than they should as it is that many shift from one job to another when they should not. The former are just as much in need of help as the latter in meeting a situation that may have great significance for them. Fear of change, unwillingness to take a chance, and especially ignorance of how to proceed in seeking opportunities for advancement often condemn a capable individual to a level of achievement much below

his possibilities. Sometimes the best opportunity is to be found in the very organization that already employs this young worker. A placement office can do much to remedy this situation by providing an opportunity for individuals of this type to review from time to time with a specialist their occupational problems, and by keeping them aware of the assistance afforded by the vocational guidance program of the school system in obtaining a position better suited to their abilities.

Need for help in removing causes of dissatisfaction. Not infrequently a young worker who is getting on reasonably well, is satisfactory to his employer, and should remain where he is, develops a real or imaginary grievance which interferes with his usefulness and threatens to result in a change to a less desirable job. A machinist's apprentice in New York who had been called to account for some mistake decided that his foreman "had it in for him" and that the best thing for him to do was to find another job as soon as possible. Another machinist's apprentice discovered that a young worker near him doing piecework was earning twice as much as he, and immediately decided that he would give up his apprenticeship and change to piecework. Fortunately both of these youths were persuaded by friendly coordinators from the schools that their reasons for proposing to give up their opportunities to learn a highly skilled trade were trivial. Whatever the cause of dissatisfaction, the kind of follow-up service which helps the young worker to see the situation as it really is and to face it squarely often measures the difference between success and failure for that young worker.

Need for additional vocational preparation. Every young worker on a new job, regardless of his vocational preparation before leaving school, has much to learn concerning his work and his new relationships. In some cases this is learned entirely in the place of employment; in other cases, partly in the place of employment and partly elsewhere. Of course, both the amount and the nature of the new skills and knowledge required depend on the kind of work done, being much greater for a machinist's apprentice or a stenographer than for a punch-press operator or a file clerk.

Many young workers are very slow in discovering just what they need to learn and still slower in finding quick and economical ways of learning it. They need help to see their learning needs

and the opportunities that lie around them, both in connection with their employment and outside of it, for meeting these needs. What evening courses and correspondence courses pertaining to the work are available; what readings and what conferences with individuals are desirable; what habits of observation and of work and what attitudes should be cultivated in order better to meet present and probable future requirements of the job are questions which they need help in answering. They also need encouragement to take advantage of the various opportunities at hand for self-improvement in the field of their vocations.

Need for help in planning cultural, recreational, and community-service activities. Not only are these youth beginning their duties and responsibilities as workers. They are beginning also to assume their places in society as citizens. As they leave full-time school, profound changes are taking place in the manner and extent of their use of the provisions available for their cultural, social, and civic development. They are modifying the recreational habits of their schools days on account of the requirements of their work. Habits of participation in community-service activities become fixed—crystallize—more in the first few years of employment than at any other period in the individual's life. A new set of personal relations problems demand attention. Adjustments of vital significance to the young worker's satisfactions in life and to his value as a member of society in his community must be made. Many of these adjustments are closely related to his vocational success. A wise follow-up at this time by the same social institution that society has charged with responsibility for helping to prepare him in advance for this situation is immeasurably valuable both to the youth and to society, and, as was noted in case of the placement service, to the school system also.

Need in case of prolonged unemployment. If the youth in his early years of employment has need of such follow-up services as have just been discussed, certainly the one who has been seeking work for weeks or months without success is in even greater need, whether he has held a job for a time or whether he has had no work since leaving school. The greatest tragedy of a prolonged period of economic depression is its crop of unemployed youth. In such periods the obligation rests more heavily on the school system to look after its former students if their morale

is to be preserved and they are to become permanent social assets rather than social liabilities.

The Civilian Conservation Corps as a factor in meeting the needs of unemployed youth. It was for part of this group that the Civilian Conservation Corps was organized by the federal government in 1933. The camps of this corps, each accommodating on the average about 200 young men from seventeen to twenty-three years of age (the typical enrollee was 18.5 years of age in 1938), are scattered throughout the different states and provide for approximately 300,000 youth at one time. With their favorable living conditions, work program, and expanding educational facilities, these camps have undoubtedly been of great value to those enrolled.

Vocational classes are carried on in each camp for enrollees who wish to attend, under the leadership of an educational adviser who, in many camps, provides also a limited though expanding vocational guidance service. Better health, better morale, and some vocational preparation have resulted. However, these camps are open only to boys and young men; no corresponding provision is made for girls and young women. The number who can be accommodated is only a fraction of the total number of unemployed youth, estimated by the American Youth Commission in 1936 as 5½ million and in 1939 as nearly 4 million between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four inclusive. The educational program provided, valuable as it has proved to be, is meager compared with the needs of the group. The period of enrollment is six months with the privilege of renewal for three additional periods of six months each. However, each reenrollment bars a new youth from coming into the Civilian Conservation Corps, since the total membership is fixed by law. When the period of enrollment is over, most of these youth, who have been taken out of their natural environment for a time, return to the conditions from which they came, including usually unemployment.

The entire program is controlled and managed from Washington, with the result that the communities from which these youth come tend more and more to unload their responsibilities for meeting the needs of their own young people on the federal government. Fundamentally the problem with which this chapter is concerned is a local educational and guidance problem, while that of the C.C.C. started out as one of human relief and

conservation of forest resources. It is not to be expected that a partial solution of the latter problem will solve or even make a large contribution toward solving the former. Even with steadily increasing emphasis on the educational and guidance services of C.C.C. camps and lessened emphasis on their relief character, this valuable organization cannot be expected to take the place of local communities in serving the needs of unemployed youth.

The National Youth Administration as a factor. Another organization which has done much valuable work with unemployed youth is the National Youth Administration. In 1935, in accordance with an executive order issued by President Roosevelt, the National Youth Administration took over the Federal Emergency Relief Administration's program of aid for needy college students, started the previous year, and extended it downward to include students in secondary schools and upward to include graduate students in universities. By means of this aid, amounting to not more than $6 per month for high school students, $20 per month for college students, and $40 per month for graduate students, many thousands of youth, sixteen to twenty-four years of age, have continued their education. In return for this aid, students work at tasks varying according to their knowledge and skills, mostly in connection with the educational institutions which they attend.

For unemployed youth, eighteen to twenty-four years of age inclusive, who are no longer in school, N.Y.A. part-time work projects are carried on which do not compete with adult labor and which give these young people a small income. In addition the National Youth Administration in some communities has provided junior counseling and placement services in connection with state employment offices in an effort to help these youth find jobs in private industry.[1]

Hayes has pointed out that a personnel card has been developed for out-of-school youth applying for N.Y.A. work; the work projects provide limited tryout experiences; in certain of the large industrial states occupational information material has been prepared and late afternoon and evening classes for study and discussion of this material established for unemployed youth; and in some centers consultation services of vocational counseling

[1] RICHARD R. BROWN, "The NYA and the Youth Problem," *Occupations: The Vocational Guidance Magazine,* XIV (May, 1936), 776–780.

type have been set up by the N.Y.A. for these youth.[1] Also, a number of residence centers have been established in which a combined program of part-time work and part-time vocational education is provided for groups of N.Y.A. youth.

This program provides for both sexes, serves youth for the most part in their home-community environments, and, in some localities, undertakes to provide a comprehensive vocational guidance service. While directed from Washington, it has also a staff in each state which seeks the cooperation of state and local educational authorities. In the student-aid part of the program the local educational institution is allowed freedom in selection of students and types of work in which they engage.

However, this is primarily a relief program. Students who receive aid must show that they could not continue their education without aid. Those employed on N.Y.A. work projects are "Needy young men and women between the ages of 18 and 24, inclusive, who are out of school and unemployed," according to a statement issued by the National Youth Administration in 1940. An earlier requirement was that at least 90 per cent of these youth must come from families on relief. Some of the best features of the program are found only in a few communities and on an experimental basis. Only a fraction of unemployed youth are receiving through the N.Y.A. follow-up service that even approaches adequacy.[2] As with the C.C.C., the entire setup tends to cause local educational authorities to shift to the broad shoulders of Uncle Sam responsibility for following up these youth instead of recognizing this as a responsibility of the local school system, concerned directly with the continued education of its former students.

No coordinated program. It is apparent that there is no coordinated program aimed at following up and helping unemployed youth and no agency which feels responsibility for bringing about such a program. The high schools look upon these youth as beyond their jurisdiction. The C.C.C. serves certain of the needs of a small part of this group for a time but finally sends these back, for the most part still unemployed, to the com-

[1] Mary H. S. Hayes, "NYA Youth Placement," *Occupations: The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, XVI (May, 1938), 737–738.

[2] The N.Y.A. reports that, as of May, 1938, 326,664 young people were receiving student aid and 179,367 were on work projects.

munities from which they came. The N.Y.A. saves some of the abler and more ambitious ones from joining the unemployed by its student aid program and helps a few of the unemployed with its work projects and with vocational guidance. The junior placement service of the state employment offices offers assistance in finding such jobs as are available. Interested local social agencies make contributions of some value to the problem. But all these organizations and agencies are working almost entirely independently of each other. The result is that great numbers of these youth receive little or no help and others receive help in meeting only part of the difficulties that perplex them.

A new type of local educational institution needed—an Adjustment Institute. In reply to the criticisms voiced concerning the limited service of the C.C.C. and the N.Y.A., it can be said that local school systems of this country are doing far less in the way of providing an adequate follow-up service for unemployed youth than either of these federal agencies; and that these organizations have done a great service in focusing attention on the problem and in taking steps toward its solution. No doubt this is true as far as the unemployed group is concerned, but neither of these agencies does any follow-up work with those who are employed from the time they leave school or with those who enter higher educational institutions, except that the N.Y.A. provides financial aid for some needy students.

As a matter of fact, school systems as now organized cannot be expected to do effective follow-up work with any of these groups. A new educational institution, very different from the junior or senior high school or junior college, and designed for a much broader service than is performed by placement offices—a sort of Adjustment Institute—is needed, into which all youth are transferred when they leave secondary school just as they are now transferred from junior to senior high school.

The business of this new institution would be to help each youth make the adjustments that are essential to his continued development during the first few years after leaving secondary school. Some youth would flow out from this institution almost immediately into employment and others into colleges or other educational institutions. Some would remain for months or even years full-time members of the Adjustment Institute, because of inability to obtain employment or to enter college. Others might

go out for a few months into C.C.C. camps, or into part-time private employment. But whichever of these various courses was pursued by an individual, he would still be considered a member of the Adjustment Institute until he reaches twenty-one (perhaps twenty-five) years of age. He would be expected to look to this institution for any kind of help needed in meeting new situations or in making better adjustments to old ones. And the institution would be expected to help him to discover these needs as well as to meet them.

Services of the Adjustment Institute to those entering employment. The first service of the institute to this group would be that of assisting them to find suitable employment. In other words, the placement office, whose work was discussed in Chap. XV, would constitute an important part of the institute and the entire placement service of the school system would center here. Of course, this office would concern itself with second and later placements as these became necessary. The institute would concern itself also with those who tend to remain longer than they should in positions which do not afford opportunities commensurate with their abilities.

The need of each employed member of the institute for help in connection with his vocational, recreational, cultural, and community-service activities—the entire range of follow-up services for the employed described earlier in this chapter—would claim the attention of the institute. A broad program of part-time and evening classes would be necessary, as would also provision for counseling concerning correspondence courses available, and supervising correspondence study. As far as employed youth is concerned, the job of the institute would be to know each individual and to contribute in every possible way to his vocational success and to his continued development.

Services of the Adjustment Institute to those entering other educational institutions. The institute would help those who are planning to continue their formal education to select institutions, curriculums, and subjects suitable to their abilities, aptitudes, and needs, beginning this work before high school graduation. It would help them in gaining admission to the chosen institution or, if denied admission there, to some other institution equally suitable. It would assist them in planning their living arrangements, recreations, extracurricular activities,

and time budget for the first year in the light of information gathered concerning each one during his years in the local schools. It would encourage them to come in to report and talk over their problems when home on vacations. It would receive reports at intervals from the institutions attended concerning the quality of work these young people were doing and concerning special needs of particular individuals. It would administer any scholarship and loan funds available for graduates of local high schools and endeavor to obtain additional funds for the aid of worthy students. It would help other capable and ambitious students to work out plans for self-support while continuing their education. And it would assist those who drop out of college to make and carry out new plans.

Services of the Adjustment Institute to unemployed youth. The unemployed group requires a more varied program of assistance than either of the others. The institute would, of course, register for placement all who were seeking jobs and would concern itself constantly with finding employment for them in private industry or business. It would select from this group candidates for assignment to C.C.C. camps and receive these back into its fold again when they leave such assignments.[1]

The institute might well take over the entire N.Y.A. program in its community and should by all means develop and carry on work projects aided by federal funds as is now done by N.Y.A. All such projects would be of a community-service nature, projects which do not interfere with employment of adults and which provide, say, 10 hours of work per week for any unemployed youth whether or not he or she comes from a family that is on relief. As suggested some years ago by the writer, one project might be a survey of recreational opportunities and needs in the community with a list of practicable things to be done in order to improve recreational facilities. Another project might be a survey of community-service opportunities and needs, with a similar list of things that ought to be done for the improvement of community life.[2] These two surveys would yield many suit-

[1] As employment conditions improve, part of the more than $300,000,000 per year now spent on C.C.C. work could be used profitably in maintaining these community adjustment institutes, thus serving all youth in their home environments.

[2] George E. Myers, "What of Unemployed Youth?" *Education*, LV (April, 1935), 470.

able work projects for assignment to members of the group. Naturally records of the part-time work for each youth would be kept as a basis for recommendation for full-time employment later.

All who participate in the work program would be expected to spend a fixed number of hours per week, perhaps 20, in an educational, recreational, and unpaid community-service program provided by the institute, and determined in accordance with individual needs and abilities. Vocational education, preceded and accompanied by vocational counseling, should be a part of this program. General education, for some of a cultural type, and for all of a type growing out of and related to their 10 hours of work per week and current economic and social conditions, would also form a part. Voluntary community service of types that could not properly be brought into the work program would likewise be included, as would physical and social recreation.

The Adjustment Institute's place in the community. The Adjustment Institute would thus constitute in each community an agency that would be responsible for serving in a comprehensive manner the adjustment needs of all youth who leave the secondary schools of that community. It might properly exchange courtesies with similar institutes in other communities as youth move from one community to another. As part of the public school system, it would be in position to gain the cooperation of other local social agencies interested in youth and to serve as the coordinating agency for these as far as adjustment problems are concerned. With responsibility for placement, for part-time work with pay if full-time work is not available, and for the many other services discussed above, it should promptly win the confidence and support of both youth and adults if its work is well done. It would come to be looked upon as the community's own agency for continuing the educational program of its elementary and secondary schools and for building a better community in the future as well as for aiding youth to find their way into the activities of adult life.

Adjustment a neglected service. As one reads the literature of vocational guidance and especially as one notes how little follow-up or adjustment work is done by city school systems, even by those that have developed the better programs of vocational guidance, he is obliged to admit that here is a much neglected service. Whatever arrangements are made for carrying

it on in the future, whether by adjustment institutes or in other ways, assistance to youth comparable to that proposed through the Adjustment Institute must be recognized as a fundamental part of a comprehensive program of vocational guidance, and far more adequate provisions must be made for carrying it on than have yet been given serious consideration.

Summary

If the follow-up service is to be performed effectively for employed youth, a plan for determining the adjustment needs of young workers is necessary. Written reports from the employer and from the young worker are desirable but difficult to obtain. Telephone calls to the employer and especially personal calls at the place of employment by a representative of the placement office are helpful. Calls made by the youth on his former school counselor have value and should be encouraged. All members of the staff of the school formerly attended by the youth may well be requested to turn in reports of informal talks with him concerning his work and his needs related to that work. When other parts of the program of vocational guidance are working well, both the youth and his employer are more ready to cooperate in supplying the desired information.

Among the most important adjustment needs of a young worker are: assistance in obtaining a new job, because he has lost one or because it is time for him to move on to something better; help in removing causes of dissatisfaction; aid in determining what additional preparation should be obtained and how and where to obtain it; help in planning desirable cultural, recreational, and community-service activities; and help in meeting the discouragements of prolonged unemployment. While the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration are rendering valuable follow-up service to a considerable number of unemployed youth, it must be recognized that these agencies deal only with the unemployed, with only a relatively small part of these, with only part of their adjustment needs, and for only a limited time. The great problem of adjustment of American youth must be attacked by some other agency or agencies. Other social agencies are attacking it in various ways but there is no coordinated program or plan of attack.

A new type of local educational institution is needed to take responsibility for the occupational and other adjustments of

youth. It might well be called the Adjustment Institute. It would be a unit of the public school system. It would serve the needs of adults as well as of youth. All youth in the community would be transferred to the institute upon leaving school, as they are now transferred from junior high to senior high school. Some would be assisted in finding employment; others in entering college or a special school; others in gaining admittance to the Civilian Conservation Corps.

For the unemployed, part-time work of a public nature accompanied by a program of civic and vocational education, recreation, and community service should be provided with financial aid from the federal government similar to that now furnished for the National Youth Administration program. The experience and record of the unemployed youth in the part-time work and other activities would be considered in helping him to obtain full-time employment in industry or business. Many kinds of evening and part-time classes would be conducted by the institute for employed and unemployed. Supervised correspondence courses would be provided. The institute would undertake to discover and serve the needs of all youth in the community and to obtain the cooperation of many other agencies in this task. Vocational guidance would have a large place in its program. It would build a better community as well as aid youth to find their way into the activities of adult life.

Whether carried on by the Adjustment Institute or in some other way, the follow-up service is a much neglected and very challenging service.

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CHAPTER XVII

THE RESEARCH SERVICE

The eighth and last of the services of a comprehensive vocational guidance program listed in Chap. VII is the research service. The term "research" as here used includes studies and investigations of various kinds pertaining to local programs of vocational guidance.

To be sure, small school systems will find it difficult to do much that deserves the name of research in this field because of limited staff and funds. On the other hand, the amount of this type of service needed is determined by the size of the school system, the small system requiring less. But no school system that carries on a vocational guidance program, however limited, can afford to neglect the research service entirely. Often a faculty member of a higher educational institution may be called in to assist members of the local staff in this work.

Purposes of the research service. The chief purpose of this service is, of course, to improve the effectiveness of the other services and of the program as a whole, and to aid in adapting these to changing conditions. However carefully planned the program may be, its continued effectiveness will depend upon the care and thoroughness with which the methods and techniques of the various services are checked from time to time, experiments with different methods are carried out, and new devices are developed to meet new situations.

A second and more remote purpose of this service is to cooperate with other agencies in the solution of problems of national or regional interest in the field of vocational guidance. In the main, research work on such problems will be done by agencies of national scope like the U.S. Office of Education, the U.S. Bureau of Employment Security, the National Vocational Guidance Association, and private foundations. For example, as pointed out in an earlier chapter, no other agency is in so favorable a position as the U.S. Bureau of Employment Security to devise standardized tests of occupational proficiency. But the

research service of a city program of vocational guidance may properly be expected to cooperate with the U.S. Bureau of Employment Security in validating these tests for use with students completing the vocational preparation provided by the schools.

Research in occupational information. Obviously the occupational information used in classwork, in counseling, and as reference material must be accurate, reliable, significant, and up to date. It must also fit the community in which it is used. National organizations have carried on extensive investigations in this field and have developed a mass of material descriptive of a wide range of occupations. Especially has the U.S. Bureau of Employment Security been very active in this respect recently, publishing descriptions of thousands of jobs. The National Vocational Guidance Association has done important work in developing techniques of occupational research and in illustrating their use. Numerous other agencies also have prepared and published occupational information material.

As far as practicable any local vocational guidance program would draw on the wealth of available material. But it sometimes happens that an occupation as carried on locally differs from the same occupation in some respects as it is described in literature for national circulation. Still more is it true that some occupations are local in character and, therefore, have not been investigated and described by agencies interested in preparing material for use in wide areas.

It is the business of the research service of a local program of vocational guidance to make sure that imported material describing common occupations carried on in the community fits local conditions, and to prepare material covering the more important occupations that are peculiar to the local community. Continuing research is necessary if occupational information material is to give an adequate understanding of the opportunities and requirements of local occupations as well as a general picture of those that are most important nationally. The problem is one of checking and supplementing available standard descriptions of occupations in terms of local conditions when these conditions differ from national norms.

Another type of research in this field which pays dividends if well done is that which is concerned with methods of aiding youth

to gain a functioning knowledge of the occupational information available. Controlled experiments in different methods of teaching this subject aimed at determining which is the better, not only with respect to the amount of information acquired by the students but also with reference to the influence of this information on their occupational plans, are quite possible and practicable in some school systems, especially in larger ones. If members of the staff concerned with vocational guidance do not have the training or the time to carry through such studies, university professors and graduate students can be found who will appreciate an opportunity to work on this problem in cooperation with school authorities who have a genuine interest in it.

Research in occupational exploration. In Chap. VIII suggestions were presented which were aimed at increasing the values of secondary school work as a means of helping youth discover their aptitudes, interests, and limitations. It was proposed that teachers in secondary schools be made more conscious of the exploratory possibilities of their subjects; that a larger number of the elements that go to make up an occupation be introduced into the school experiences that are supposed to be exploratory for that occupation; that in case of those courses which especially stress vocational exploration, the methods of teaching and class management bring in more features of the working environment of the occupations represented; and that more attention be given to the exploratory values of extracurricular activities and part-time employment. But if these suggestions are carried out to the best advantage, numerous investigations are necessary.

How can high school teachers be made properly conscious of the fact that they are not only teaching subjects to the students in their classes but that they are also helping these same students to discover their own assets and liabilities through the subjects taught? Different ways of creating and developing on the part of teachers appreciation of the exploratory function of education must be tried out experimentally before the best way is determined. The best way in one school system may not be the best way in another, because of differences in the teaching personnel and other influencing factors.

Once this appreciation is developed, problems of selection of new material to be added to the courses of study in the various subjects claim attention. If, as suggested above, more elements

of experience from the occupation for which a particular subject is exploratory are to be brought into the course of study in that subject, which of the many possible elements shall be selected? For example, if the general shop course in any particular school is to be enriched in this way, what operations or processes of carpentry, electrical work, metalwork, printing, and other industrial occupations should be added? If the subject is chemistry, what more should be brought in from the work of industrial chemists? Or if English, what additional experiences in news reporting, editorial, feature, story, and other forms of writing, and in the teaching of English shall be incorporated? Of course, the answers will differ according to what is already in the courses of study and, perhaps, according to the occupational activities of the community. But the point stressed here is that investigation—research—is necessary in arriving at satisfactory answers to these questions.

Equally true is it that methods of teaching and class management require critical examination in regard to their part in realizing the exploratory function of education. Experiments in teaching the same material by different methods need to be tried and the results evaluated as nearly as possible. The values of different kinds of instruction sheets and the conditions favorable to the use of each kind call for investigation. The practice of dividing industrial arts classes into groups with a student foreman in charge of each group, thus approximating an important feature of industrial management, needs evaluation. This, or something akin to it, might also be tried in other high school subjects. Though measuring the effects of different methods of teaching and class management with reference to realization of the exploratory objective is admittedly a difficult undertaking, research along these lines also is highly desirable.

If content of courses and methods of teaching are modified in order to bring about better results in exploration, checks are desirable to make sure that other values of the work are not sacrificed. This, again, is a research problem. While many believe that these other values are increased rather than lessened, beliefs and opinions are, of course, not satisfactory evidence.

Then, too, a great deal of experimentation and research is needed in connection with extracurricular activities in relation to vocational exploration. Some of the questions which call for

answers in particular schools are: How comprehensive a program of extracurricular activities is desirable? To what extent should the exploratory purpose be stressed in each of these? How does each activity now contribute to vocational exploration? What modifications in its yearly program are desirable if its exploratory value is to be increased? What type of faculty sponsorship is preferable? None of these are questions to be answered by the snap judgment of the principal or of a committee of teachers.

Finally, experimentation with vocational exploration by means of part-time employment and evaluation of experiments of this type deserve to be included in the research service of a comprehensive program of vocational guidance.

Research in gathering personal data. It was noted in earlier chapters that in counseling an individual as complete information as can be brought together concerning his personal assets and liabilities is essential. It was pointed out that gathering much of this information is the function of other divisions of the student-personnel organization and that the vocational guidance division is concerned with using the information wisely. Accordingly, giving and scoring intelligence tests, aptitude tests, and tests of personality traits belong to the bureau of tests and measurements, psychological clinic, or other division, by whatever name it is known, which does this type of work for the school system as a whole. In like manner, the health department supplies physical data concerning the student; the attendance department and visiting teachers, data concerning his social environment; and subject teachers, his scholastic record.

However, assembling this material in convenient form for use in counseling, checking it for completeness and adequacy for its intended use, and keeping it up to date are proper functions of the personal data collecting service of the vocational guidance program. Investigations for the purpose of determining the best methods of obtaining the desired reports from the various sources, and other investigations to determine suitable record forms for compiling the information gathered in these reports, always with reference to the scope of the local guidance program, are desirable. Also, cooperation with other services of the program in validating tests, in determining the worth of rating scales, and the like should be expected.

Research in counseling. Here again the problem is largely one of studying and evaluating different methods and techniques in dealing with different types of individuals as revealed to the counselor by their records and by earlier interviews with them. The adequacy of the records available; how best to use these records; how best to use the interview period; what methods are most successful in bringing back former students for counseling interviews; these and similar matters will claim attention and require investigation.

Attention may well be given to measuring the effectiveness of different counselors and to determining what qualities are most essential to good counseling and how these differ with different types of youth in the school system. The possibility and desirability of using home-room teachers and subject teachers for certain counseling responsibilities deserve investigation, and how the counseling activities of different members of the staff fit into the school counseling service as a whole.

Research in vocational preparation. Among the many questions demanding investigation are: For what occupations should the school system provide preparation? What kind of preparation is needed for these occupations? What part of this preparation should be provided in all-day classes, what part in part-time classes, what part in evening classes, and what part wholly in employment? What provision is already made in the community for this preparation by public schools, private schools, employers? Obviously, a thorough vocational education survey, such as was suggested in Chap. XIV, is necessary in order to answer these questions.

Here again, even more than in case of occupational exploration, the selection of content for every subject taught calls for occupational analysis and investigation and selection of related technical, social, and economic material if the subject is to serve its purpose effectively. And this investigation must concern itself with keeping the content in line with changes in industry and business.

Methods and techniques used in teaching and class management also require study, as do opportunities for cooperation with employers in providing the needed vocational preparation.

Nor is it safe to assume that all who enter certain vocational preparatory classes should be there, however efficient the earlier

parts of the guidance program may be considered. Studies of the performance, interest, and attitudes of vocational students need to be made from time to time, not only as a service to the students but also as a check on the adequacy of the vocational guidance they have received thus far.

Research in placement. An efficient placement service depends, among other things, on up-to-date information concerning the general types of work open to youth. The surveys of high school graduates made from time to time in Minneapolis[1] and that made in Philadelphia[2] in 1935 were of distinct value in this respect to the placement work of those cities. Since conditions differ in different cities and at different times in the same city, such surveys need to be made by all school systems that stress placement and need to be repeated at intervals. There is no better way of ascertaining the kinds of work which are open to youth leaving school and the number of youth required for each kind than by finding out what those youth are doing who have left school recently.

Of course, the placement service must continually investigate specific employment opportunities. It must learn just what firms need young workers today, or tomorrow, or next week, how many each firm needs, the qualifications required for each position to be filled, the wholesomeness of working conditions, and opportunities for advancement offered by the position. Its selection of youth to apply for particular positions will be better if it studies the idiosyncrasies of each employing officer with whom it deals frequently and then sends only such youth as possess personality characteristics that seem likely to please that officer.

Other matters that call for investigation are techniques of conducting placement interviews, methods of establishing wholesome relationships with employers, possibilities of cooperation with the local office of the state employment service and with school or other public placement services in neighboring cities. The possibilities of obtaining objective data concerning appli-

[1] Barbara H. Wright, "A Follow-up of 1934 Graduates," *Occupations: The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, XV (October, 1936), 42–45.

[2] Ann Pavan, "A Follow-up Study of Philadelphia Public School Graduates," *Occupations: The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, XVI (December, 1937), 252–259.

cants by means of standardized tests of occupational proficiency deserve attention also. In some of the larger cities it may be desirable for the placement service to cooperate with the state and federal employment services in developing such tests.

Research in follow-up. As indicated in Chap. XVI, both the nature and the effectiveness of the follow-up service needed by a particular youth depend upon a clear understanding of the adjustment problems faced by that youth. The follow-up service is an individual service. It calls for study of the individual in beyond-the-school situations, as well as interpretation of information gathered concerning him while he is in school. The types of information sought in that study have already been discussed sufficiently to suggest its scope.

Investigation and evaluation of various methods of determining the adjustment needs of individual youth are desirable, as are also investigation and evaluation of techniques used in serving these needs. Since very little has yet been done along these lines, great opportunities for important research will be found here. A local survey of opportunities for part-time employment on community-service projects that will not bring unemployed youth into competition with adult labor, investigation of ways in which work experiences may be made to yield their maximum contribution to development of the young worker, and study of the possibilities of cooperation with various other agencies in performing the follow-up service are a few of the many research problems that challenge consideration in this field.

Research pertaining to the effectiveness of the program as a whole. The question is often asked: What evidence is there that youth who have been subjected to a comprehensive program of vocational guidance are any more successful or happy in their occupational life because of this experience? As Cole expresses it:

> Is there any justification for calling guidance a fad? Are there any proofs that vocational guidance scientifically carried out can be made to pay large dividends? Can the professional vocational guidance men prove to industry and to society as a whole that their program is practical, effective, and above all that it brings results? Can they prove to the business man that vocational guidance reduces labor turnover, makes for happier and more contented workers, increases effi-

ciency, and reduces cost of production? In short, can a vocational guidance director prove that his work is bearing worthy results?[1]

The vocational guidance staff of many school systems could carry through investigations, similar to the one made by Cole, for the purpose of answering these and other questions. Certainly scientific evidence on its effectiveness, whether favorable or unfavorable, would be of great value to the vocational guidance program of any city. But great care must be taken to be sure that the evidence is scientific.

A significant investigation of this general character, financed by a private foundation, is now in progress in the city schools of Flint, Mich. Two groups of ninth-grade pupils of the Emerson Junior High School, 234 in each group, were chosen for the investigation. The experimental group has the benefit of a carefully planned program of guidance conducted by psychologists and trained counselors, while the control group is provided only with such general guidance services as are common to many school systems when no special guidance workers are employed. The investigation, planned for a five-year period, is at this writing starting its second year. An evaluation of results is to be made at the conclusion of the five-year period.

Coordinating research and research results. Obviously some of the studies and investigations mentioned in this chapter are of interest to more than one of the vocational guidance services. For example, information obtained in research related to placement is of value also to the counseling and follow-up services. Some of that obtained in research pertaining to vocational preparation is useful in the occupational exploration part of the program. It is to be expected that when any study is undertaken its relations to the different services will be given proper consideration in the provisions made both for conducting the study and for distributing its results. In other words, complete coordination of the research activities is essential.

In this connection it may be well to note that similar coordination between the research activities of the psychological clinic, the health service, and other branches of the student personnel department of the school system and that of the vocational

[1] Robert C. Cole, *An Evaluation of the Vocational Guidance Program in the Worcester Boys' Club*, p. 2, mimeographed report, Worcester, Mass.: Worcester Boys' Club, 1939.

guidance bureau is equally essential. Often an investigation made by one part of a school system with much labor and expense would have been of great value to another part of the same system if the two had only planned and carried it through together. Sometimes data gathered by one part which would be of value to another are quite unknown to the latter.

Assignment of research work. To this question the answer must be that most of the research mentioned in this chapter should be done by the vocational guidance staff—the people who are carrying on the various services. To be sure, the head of the guidance program would be expected to assume the leadership in this matter. He may find it desirable to appoint a committee for the purposes of planning and coordinating research work. But for their own benefit as well as because they are closer to these problems than anyone else, members of the staff who are engaged in the activities of the program must be expected to do much of the actual research work in so far as they are qualified to do it. Constant efforts should be made to improve their qualifications in this respect. As suggested earlier, research workers from colleges and universities may be called in for help. Some of the larger school systems may employ full-time research workers on the vocational guidance staff. But the research service, aimed at improving the effectiveness of the vocational guidance program, will fall far short of its possibilities unless members of the staff as a whole are brought into this work as fully as practicable.

Summary

The principal purpose of the research service is to improve the effectiveness of the other services and of the program as a whole. General descriptions of occupations require checking by local conditions. Local occupations not described in the general literature of the field call for investigation. Occupational information must be kept up to date.

Methods of developing appreciation on the part of high school teachers of the exploratory function of their work and ways of increasing its vocational exploratory values demand careful study. Experimentation for the purpose of securing optimal exploratory values from extracurricular activities and part-time employment is desirable. Investigations covering the best

methods of obtaining the desired personal data concerning pupils from the various sources and compiling and recording these data for convenient use are important. The adequacy of records for counseling purposes, methods of interviewing, methods used in inducing former students to come back for counseling interviews, and ways to use home-room teachers and others for certain counseling responsibilities deserve investigation.

It is necessary to determine by research methods the nature and scope of the vocational education program which should be carried on. Selection of content for every subject included in this program calls for occupational analysis. Methods of teaching, of class management, and of obtaining desirable cooperation from employers and labor groups are matters for careful experimentation. The placement service must investigate specific employment opportunities, methods of establishing wholesome relationships with employers, possibilities of cooperation with public employment offices, and other matters which may contribute to the success of its work. Careful study and evaluation of various methods of determining adjustment needs of individual youth and of serving these needs are necessary; also possibilities of and plans for cooperation with other social agencies in performing an adequate follow-up service. Research pertaining to the effectiveness of the vocational guidance program as a whole is desirable also if carried on in a scientific manner.

Coordination of the research activities carried on by the different services is, of course, essential; also coordination between these activities and the research work of other departments of the school system—psychological clinic, health service, etc.

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CHAPTER XVIII

ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE PROGRAM

In earlier chapters discussion has centered chiefly on what is involved in each of the eight services comprising a comprehensive program of vocational guidance and on ways of performing these services. Only incidentally has attention been given to the administrative relationships of the various services to each other and to other departments of the school system. The organization and administration of the program as a whole now require attention.

It should be understood that in what follows an effort is made to propose a more or less ideal setup for such a program as has been described. It is recognized that school systems cannot, if they would, make themselves over at once in order to introduce these proposals. However, the plan of organization presented in this chapter is one toward which a school system might work as opportunities for reorganization arise from time to time. It is a comparatively simple plan, considering the work to be done. It fits into the organization of the school system as a whole. It takes account of all the various purposes of the program of vocational guidance. While planned especially for a rather large school system, it deals with relationships that are basic in all school systems. Provision will need to be made for the same services even in a small system but, as indicated, on a less extensive scale.

Existing types of organization. Before presenting the proposed plan it is well to note the principal kinds of organization now in use in American cities. A few years ago Reavis classified under four headings the types of organization found in his nationwide survey of guidance: (1) centralized bureaus of guidance for secondary schools in city systems, represented by Boston and Cincinnati; (2) city school systems with a central guidance organization but with the individual secondary school considered

the unit, represented by Providence and Milwaukee; (3) centralized bureaus or departments in individual secondary schools, represented by the LaSalle-Peru Township High School and Junior College; (4) central guidance organizations in individual secondary schools which use regular officers and teachers as guidance workers, represented by the Joliet Township High School and Junior College and the New Trier Township High School.[1]

It should be noted that Reavis's investigation was not restricted to vocational guidance but dealt with all that bears the guidance label, some of which the author of this book has insisted is organized education rather than any kind of guidance. For example, the Providence plan provides for "educational, social, character, civic, and vocational guidance." It will be recalled that in Chap. II so-called "civic," "social," and "moral" guidance were rejected as kinds of guidance, the point being made that what is meant by these terms is in reality not guidance of any kind, but desirable provisions for organized education along civic, social, and moral lines.

However, it appears that Reavis's classification of existing types of organization for guidance in general applies also in case of vocational guidance, though the degree of emphasis placed on vocational guidance may well have determined the type of organization chosen in some particular school systems. It is the belief of the author that the second type in Reavis's list as given above is best suited to the general organization of American school systems. The plan proposed in the following pages is of this type, though differing in important respects from the plans of Providence and Milwaukee, chiefly because the primary concern here is *vocational* guidance.

Place of the Vocational Guidance Program in the Administrative Setup of the School System

A vocational guidance program of the type under consideration in this book has its relationships to the school system as a whole and, at the same time, has special relationships to the work of each secondary school in the system. In attempting to set up a satisfactory plan of organization for this program it seems wise to deal first with its place in the administrative

[1] W. C. Reavis, *Programs of Guidance*, U.S. Office of Education, Bulletin 17, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1932.

arrangements of the school system as a whole, reserving for later discussion the question of the place of vocational guidance in the setup of the individual secondary school.

Pupil personnel work in relation to other activities of the school system. It will be recalled that according to Chap. III the activities involved in the work of a school system appear to fall rather readily into four large groups. The first of these groups, which for want of a better name is called "instructional," includes curriculums, courses of study, teaching, and other activities closely related to teaching, whose primary purpose is to contribute directly to the development of individual pupils.

A second group, called "business management," involves those activities concerned with providing the physical facilities required for instruction, such as buildings, equipment, supplies, etc.

A third group, called "pupil personnel work," includes the activities whose function it is to bring those individuals for whom the schools are provided into the instructional program at such points and in such condition that each individual will derive therefrom the maximum of needed personal development.

The fourth group bears the name "administration" and includes those activities which are concerned with final determination, in the light of existing conditions, of what in general shall be included in the activities of each of the other groups; with seeing that the activities of each group are carried on under as favorable conditions as possible; and with maintaining such relationships between the groups that each separately and all taken together make the maximum contribution to the work for which the school system exists.

It must be kept in mind, however, that many of these activities do not belong exclusively in any one group. Occupational exploratory courses, for example, are not provided solely for the purpose of aiding pupils in selecting suitable vocations and in entering the proper classes in order to obtain the needed preparation for these vocations, which is a personnel function. They also contribute directly to the personal development of pupils, which is an instructional function. In classifying such an activity its controlling purpose must determine whether it belongs in the pupil personnel group or in the instructional group. But in whichever group it falls its relationship to the other group should be recognized.

Vocational guidance a pupil personnel activity. Obviously vocational guidance in a school system, concerned with "assisting individual pupils to choose, prepare for, enter upon, and progress in an occupation"—beginning in the secondary school and continuing into the early years of employment life—is primarily a pupil personnel activity. While some of the services of a comprehensive program of vocational guidance as described in earlier chapters are strongly instructional in character, its controlling purpose places the program as a whole in the personnel group. Other activities in this group, as given on pages 49–51, Chap. III, are shown in Chart 5, which purposely is drawn to accentuate the relations of the vocational guidance services to the secondary schools and leaves out many other administrative features.

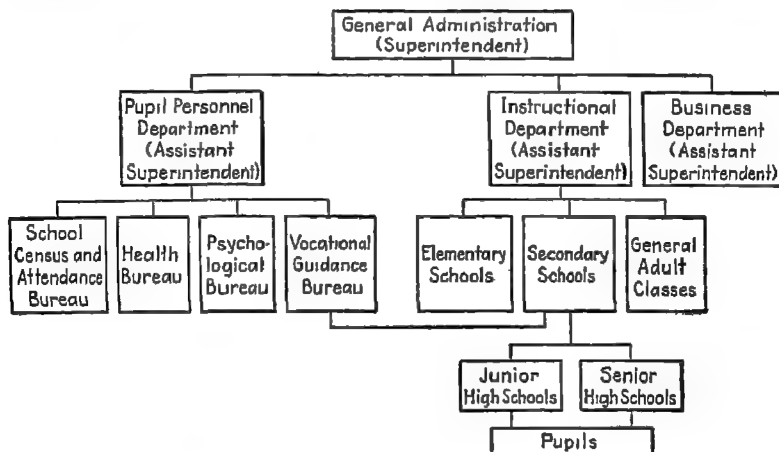


CHART 5.—GENERAL ORGANIZATION OF A CITY SCHOOL SYSTEM.

Organization of the pupil personnel department. According to this organization chart, the superintendent of a large school system would have three assistant superintendents, one in charge of instructional activities, another in charge of pupil personnel activities, and the third in charge of business management. The assistant superintendent in charge of pupil personnel activities would have a staff of four assistants or directors, each responsible for a distinct part of the work. One of these would be the director of vocational guidance. Naturally, staff meetings of this group would deal with many problems of cooperation between the vocational guidance bureau and the other bureaus of the

personnel department. Naturally, also, the assistant superintendents in charge of instruction and of personnel work would bring together from time to time the director of vocational guidance and the person or persons in charge of secondary education for the purposes of planning the vocational guidance program in the secondary schools and assuring favorable conditions for carrying it on. General arrangements covering the guidance activities of secondary schools of the system thus would be worked out cooperatively by these assistant superintendents and the members of their staffs who are directly concerned, and arrangements would be made for staff members of the vocational guidance bureau to work through the principals in the various high schools.

Organization of the vocational guidance bureau itself. Turning to the organization of the vocational guidance bureau itself, it is proposed that this consist of five divisions. The director in a large school system might thus have an immediate staff of five members consisting of the chiefs of these divisions. The services to be performed by each division are indicated in Chart 6. It will be observed that the research service described in Chap. XVII is not provided for in this chart. The reason is that research is a proper function of each of the other services. On this account the director of the bureau should bear responsibility for developing and supervising a coordinated plan of research covering all of the other services and participated in by guidance workers throughout the system.

Examination of Chart 6 will indicate that the vocational guidance bureau is expected to promote and evaluate exploration through all subjects of the secondary schools but not to supervise the teaching of even those subjects which have exploration as one of their important aims. For example, industrial arts courses in the junior high school, though rich in exploratory values, would be under the direction and supervision of the instructional department of the school system. The self-inventory division of the vocational guidance bureau would work with and through members of the instructional staff to give these subjects the maximum of exploratory values consistent with their other functions, and would do the same for the other subjects of the secondary schools.

A city-wide supervision of extracurricular activities is provided for under the self-inventory division. The purposes are to make

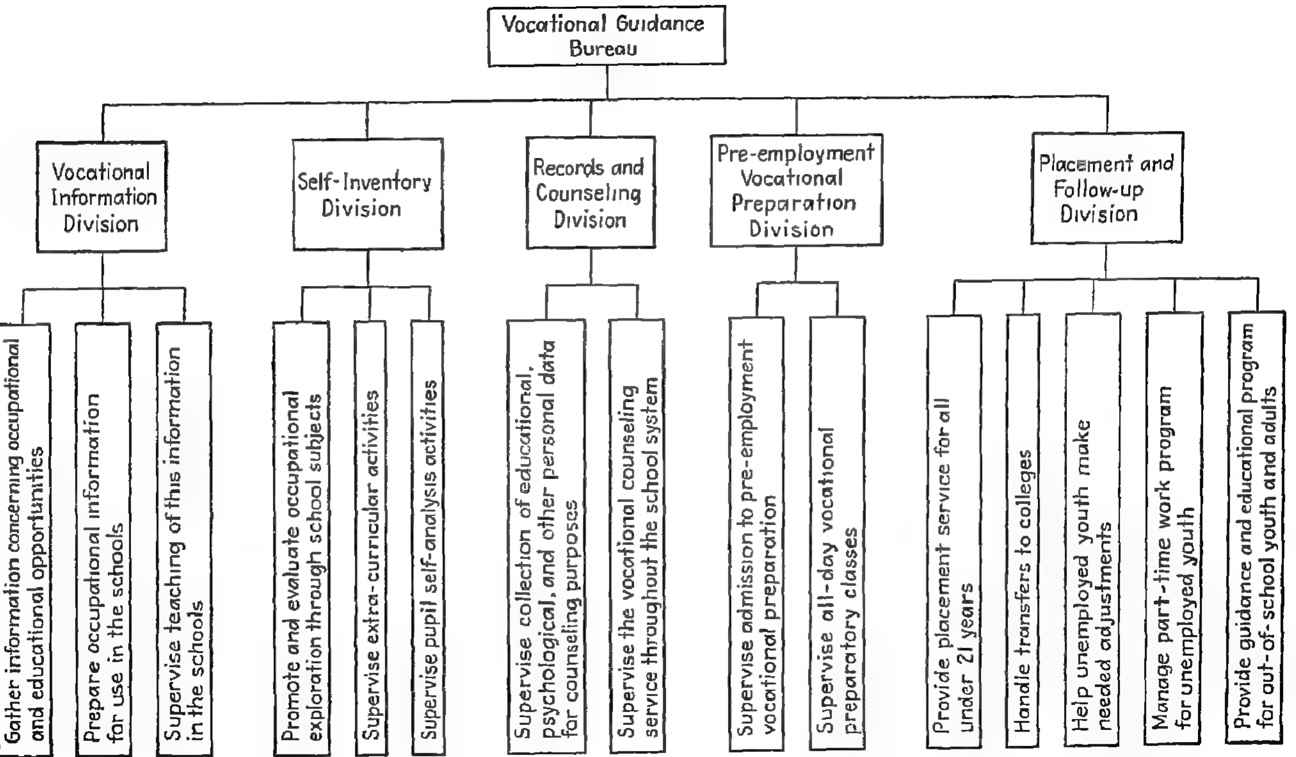


CHART 6.—ORGANIZATION OF A VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE BUREAU

sure that the exploratory possibilities of these activities are appreciated by those who sponsor them, that the program of such activities is well balanced in the various secondary schools of the system, and that these activities make their maximum contribution to pupil self-inventory.

It will be noted that the plan of organization presented here calls for supervision by the vocational guidance bureau of (1) the teaching of occupational information courses, (2) the teaching of preemployment vocational preparatory courses, and (3) the vocational education of out-of-school youth and adults. While teaching is an instructional activity, it is in these cases so directly concerned with successful transfer from full-time school to full-time employment (the task of vocational guidance) that these three teaching jobs seem to be proper functions of this bureau.

It should be understood that the placement and follow-up division would be responsible for all the activities indicated under it in the chart for the entire school system. If a particular school or the state employment office of the community or a private social agency is called upon to perform or assist in performing one or more of these services, responsibility for its proper performance would still rest with this division of the bureau. If and when organized, the Adjustment Institute which was discussed in Chap. XVI would take over the duties of the placement and follow-up division.

The Vocational Guidance Setup within a Secondary School

That the program of vocational guidance within any secondary school of the system is a school enterprise in which all members of the staff participate, rather than the sole responsibility of a counselor or group of counselors only, has been recognized throughout this book. Here and there mention has been made of ways in which this or that member of the staff would contribute to the program. It now remains to summarize the vocational guidance duties of the various staff members and to consider the type of organization that seems likely to bring satisfactory results in the performance of these duties. It should be understood that many staff members will do more but none should do less than is included in this summary.

The principal's place in the program. Good administration of a school system requires that the principal of each school shall be the responsible administrative authority for all the work done in that school, subject always to the direction of the superintendent and the immediate members of his staff. This means that vocational guidance activities, promoted and supervised throughout the system by the bureau of vocational guidance, are finally the principal's responsibility as far as his school is concerned. The bureau of vocational guidance must work through the principal and not directly with counselors, home-room teachers, subject teachers, and others, except as authorized by the principal.

The secondary school principal thus becomes a key man of the vocational guidance program within his school. If the program is to be a success he must be in sympathy with its purposes and must give it his wholehearted support. It is his business to accept the bureau's proposals for his particular school or to make other proposals in harmony with the system's general guidance plan which are calculated better to serve the needs of his school. It is his business to provide as favorable conditions as practicable for carrying on the various guidance services—equipment and supplies for occupational exploratory experiences, suitable office arrangements for counseling, an adequate record system, and the like. He it is who, with the assistance of his head counselor must be expected to help members of his staff to see and perform their particular duties in the program—subject teachers, home-room teachers, the librarian, and others. He must be expected, also, through the head counselor, to check on the effectiveness of the work, and to promote and encourage such research activities as will increase its effectiveness.

Of course, in all these matters he will have the assistance of vocational guidance specialists of the bureau's staff and of his own staff (the counselors) but responsibility for such administrative action as may be needed will still be his. If the school has one or more assistant principals or a dean of boys and dean of girls, some of the duties just listed may be passed on by the principal to these officers. However, responsibility still centers in the principal's office.

The work of the head counselor and his staff. The head counselor is the school's specialist in vocational guidance. In

schools of 300 students or more he may be expected to devote his entire time to this program. In larger schools he will need full-time or part-time assistants who have had considerable training in the guidance field. In a small school both he and those who work with him will teach as well as perform vocational guidance services. With assistance from the bureau's office and in consultation with the principal, the head counselor will plan and coordinate the vocational guidance program within the school.

In addition to counseling students, he will be the principal's agent in supervising the vocational guidance work of other members of the staff, including home-room teachers. Also he will represent the principal and the bureau in supervision of the teaching of occupational information and in providing as effective occupational exploration as is practicable. Upon him will rest responsibility for gathering and keeping up to date the student records used in counseling interviews, for obtaining additional information concerning health and mental characteristics of individual pupils by sending them to health and psychological examiners, and for sending these records on to the placement office when the pupil seeks employment. A more complete discussion of the counselor's duties may be found in Chap. XIII.

The place of the home-room teacher. Next in line come the home-room teachers whose vocational guidance duties include gathering and reporting to the head counselor's office significant information concerning individual pupils, performing themselves certain types of counseling services agreed upon with the head counselor, referring individuals to the counselor when they need his assistance, and cultivating among their pupils a favorable attitude toward the vocational guidance program. Usually these and other important home-room services are performed most successfully when each home-room teacher has charge of the same group of pupils throughout their three years of junior or senior high school.

The tendency in some schools to center the entire guidance program in home rooms and to expect the home-room teacher to do the counseling grows out of the conception of guidance which identifies guidance with education. Many of the so-called "guidance" duties assigned to home-room teachers are essentially instructional in nature, designed for the worthy purpose of contributing to the pupil's development along health, social, civic,

moral, and cultural lines but not closely related to "assisting the individual to choose, prepare for, enter upon, and progress in an occupation." Where the guidance program centers in the home room it will usually be found that *vocational* guidance is sadly neglected. This is not surprising since few home-room teachers possess either the needed training or the interest required for effective vocational guidance. Besides, they have so many other duties to perform that they do not have sufficient time for this one. While some schools use a full regular period one day each week for home-room activities, and briefer periods on the other days, in many other schools the amount of time assigned to home-room work is entirely too short and the opportunities for private interviews with pupils far too infrequent for effective vocational guidance. A thoughtful teacher of maturity and experience who was deeply interested in vocational guidance described the home-room period in the large high school where she taught as follows:

> The home-room period is a fifteen-minute period, and is usually the busiest period of the day. The teacher takes the attendance, makes out her report, makes out excuses for students who have returned after absence, confers with these regarding sore throats and temperatures and if necessary writes out permits for them to go to the school nurse, questions tardy pupils and assigns them to an extra period at the end of the day, reads and interprets the bulletin board notices, assists in making out any special blanks which call for information, etc., etc. The home-room teachers are counselors, clerks, disciplinarians, broadcasters of the latest news of the day, police detectives, and distributors of early morning cheer.

Obviously vocational guidance has little chance in such a home room which, by the way, had 40 pupils. While the conditions here described may be exceptional, few home-room teachers have that freedom from administrative and disciplinary duties which is essential to effective counseling. As Douglass says, "Except in those schools in which there are competent and forceful head counselors or chief advisers with the authority and the time to direct the activities of the advisers, the home-room, or group, advisory organization has rarely been very successful as an instrument for guidance."[1]

[1] HARL R. DOUGLASS, *Organization and Administration of Secondary Schools*, p. 193, Boston: Ginn and Company, 1932.

The place of the subject teacher. The subject teacher's first duty is, of course, instructional; namely, to make his subject contribute as much as possible to the development of his pupils. However, in doing this he has exceptional opportunities to perform also certain vocational guidance services. In fact, no other member of the school staff is so favorably situated to perform some of these services. One of them, as noted earlier, is to help his pupils by means of the subject he teaches to discover their abilities and limitations. Another is to observe and report to the head counselor aptitudes, special interests, and outstanding personality traits of his pupils. A third is to assist his pupils in obtaining significant information concerning opportunities and requirements of occupations based upon or closely related to the subject he teaches.

Others include sponsoring a club or other extracurricular activity in such manner that it yields rich exploratory values to its participants, counseling certain pupils who are keenly interested in his subject, referring pupils to the head counselor, and cooperating in certain types of vocational guidance research projects, especially those pertaining to the services just mentioned. Like the home-room teacher he, too, should help to build up a favorable attitude toward the vocational guidance program.

Through the business and industrial contacts which he makes in gathering current material for his teaching he may often be helpful to the placement office in finding suitable employment for pupils leaving school. To be sure, the contribution which a subject teacher is able to make to the program depends upon his subject, his personality, his interest in youth, and other factors. But every teacher is in position to make some contribution along the lines mentioned above. The wise head counselor will study the teaching staff of his school in order to obtain as much assistance as possible from each member in improving the various vocational guidance services.

The school librarian's part in the program. The school librarian occupies a unique position in relation to that part of the program which deals with supplying information concerning occupations. This important member of the school staff brings together for convenient use occupational information material contained in the library, orders new material of this type in

accordance with a plan worked out to serve the needs of the school as a whole, calls attention to this material in an interesting manner by means of notices on the bulletin board and in the school paper, and helps individual pupils to find information concerning particular occupations which interest them. The librarian may well report to the head counselor cases of pupils who read extensively along some special line, and also send to the same officer notes concerning those personality traits observed in individual pupils which seem to have significance in relation to vocational plans.

An organization chart for the high school program of vocational guidance. It is difficult to present in graphic form the setup which has just been discussed for vocational guidance within a high school. However, Chart 7 shows fairly well the

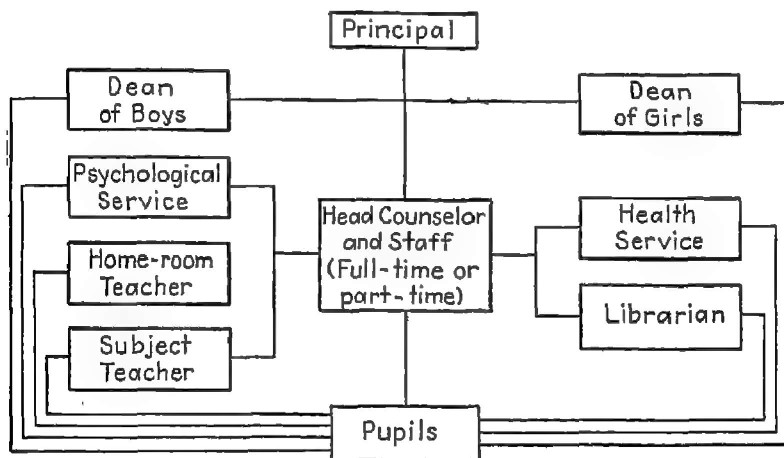


CHART 7.—ORGANIZATION FOR VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE IN A SECONDARY SCHOOL.

relationships among different members of the school staff as far as this particular work is concerned. It should be understood that this chart deals only with the school's vocational guidance responsibilities and not with other aspects of administration. The principal's administrative relationships to other than vocational guidance members of his staff do not appear.

At the same time it should be understood that the relationships between vocational guidance and other forms of guidance discussed in Chap. II are so close that the same organization might well be expected to care for these other forms of guidance also.

In fact, because of this relationship and because of the strength of youth's interest in vocational success these other forms of guidance should benefit by such an arrangement. It will be observed that the counseling staff, composed as it should be of the school's specialists in the field, occupies the central position. At the same time, it is shown that all other members of the staff are related both to the counselors and to the pupils in carrying on the program.

Organization and Administration of the Adjustment Institute

It will be recalled that upon the Adjustment Institute proposed in Chap. XVI, to which all youth of the community would be transferred as they leave the secondary schools, was placed responsibility for the counseling, placement, continued education, part-time public work for the unemployed, and recreational activities of those who enter it. In order that these services may be performed properly, a carefully planned organization is necessary of which only a preliminary sketch can be presented here.

The institute would require an official head, probably called a principal, working under the general leadership of the director of the bureau of vocational guidance or directly under the assistant superintendent in charge of the pupil personnel department.

Provision for counseling. A head counselor would be needed and a group of counselors, the number in the group depending upon the size of the school system. All the senior high school counselors should belong to this group, each serving part-time in the institute in addition to carrying on the work in the school to which he is attached. This service might consist of only 2 hours' work one evening each week, but it would make the counselor available for conferences with the same youth who were counseled by him while they were still in high school. In a large city the head counselor might require the assistance of full-time counselors, also.

Provision for placement. A head placement worker, with a staff whose size is determined by the number of youth to be served, is necessary. As noted earlier, all the organized placement work for the youth of the community would center in the institute. This should be true whether the actual placements are made by the placement department of the institute or through

the state employment office of the community, the former arrangement being highly desirable for reasons discussed earlier.

Provision for continued education. The continued education part of the institute's service would call for a department or division with a qualified staff of coordinators and teachers. This department would have charge of the entire adult vocational education program as well as of that provided for the preparation for employment of those youth who have left the regular secondary schools of the community. All-day classes preparing for specific vocations, part-time classes, evening classes, supervised correspondence study, and other forms of educational activities would be included under this department. In a large city considerable organization would be necessary in order to carry on this part of the institute's work, much of which is already done by many school systems under a different setup.

Provision for part-time employment. Provision would be necessary for organizing and administering the part-time work on public projects planned and carried on to help unemployed youth acquire desirable work habits and experience and earn a small weekly wage, pending placement in full-time regular employment. How large a staff would be required for this task in a given community cannot be determined in advance, though some light on the subject might be obtained from the inadequate program of this type now conducted by the N.Y.A. Of course, what needs to be done will depend on employment conditions; and what can be done, on the amount of money made available from federal and other funds for this work. However, the same staff could properly concern itself, also, with aiding employed youth to form the habit of participating wisely in community-service activities without pay.

Provision for recreation. Finally, the recreational needs of its youth, using the term "recreational" in a broad sense, seem to demand that the institute set up a department in this field. While this department would probably devote its major interest to unemployed youth, much more needs to be done than is generally realized to provide adequate recreational facilities for employed youth and to help them develop wholesome use of that portion of their leisure time devoted to recreation.

Of course, close coordination of the work of these various departments, under the leadership of the principal, would be

necessary; also coordination of the work of the institute with that of other local agencies interested in the welfare of youth. All the departments taken together are for the purpose of helping youth get off to a good start when they leave high school, a start that gives promise of continued individual development as these youth advance in life.

Organization for a Small School System

When one undertakes to set up a program of vocational guidance and adjustment in a school system that serves a town of only a few thousand population, it is quite apparent that an expensive organization with several full-time workers is out of the question. It may be impossible even to employ a full-time person to direct the program. Yet the youth of this community, both in school and out, are in need of the services that have been discussed just as truly as are similar youth in large cities where a strong staff can be maintained. If these needs of youth in small cities and towns are to be met, some kind of organized provision for the purpose is just as necessary as in larger communities.

The solution to this difficult problem seems to lie in assigning each of the services that have been considered to a member of the school staff on a part-time basis or, in some cases, as an extra-curricular responsibility. It may be necessary to assign two or more of the services to the same person. The high school principal may serve also as director and head counselor. The important features are that the best possible provision be made for each service and that the best available member of the staff be made responsible for that service. The general functional plan of organization, then, remains the same regardless of the size of the school system.

Organization for Rural Communities[1]

It must be granted that rural youth are as much in need of vocational guidance and adjustment as are those in cities and towns. It does not follow that the boy who happens to live in the country is best fitted for dairy farming because his father is a dairy farmer, any more than that a boy who lives in the city

[1] For a more complete discussion of vocational guidance for rural youth see George E. Myers, *The Problem of Vocational Guidance*, Chap. XII, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929.

should become a bricklayer because his father is a bricklayer. The farmer's boy is more likely to follow his father's occupation because the family capital is tied up in land and barns and cows. But the chances are just as great that he is better fitted for some other type of farming or for some industrial, business, or professional occupation as that the bricklayer's son is better suited for some other occupation than bricklaying. A comprehensive program of vocational guidance for rural youth should result in keeping on the farm those who are suited to farm life and should distribute these among the different kinds of farming according to their aptitudes and interests. It should result in attracting to city occupations only those who are better suited to these occupations than to farming.

In those rural areas that are served by consolidated schools, the same type of organization for vocational guidance and adjustment that has just been discussed for small cities and towns, seems to be both practicable and desirable. In fact, some consolidated schools have better facilities and more favorable general conditions for a guidance program than have many small school systems in incorporated towns.

The most difficult problem of organization for the kind of guidance program under consideration arises in connection with one-teacher schools in the open country. According to reports of the U.S. Office of Education, there are still several millions of children attending such schools. To be sure, some of these children later attend high schools in neighboring cities and towns and may obtain vocational guidance there, but many, partly because they have had little if any vocational guidance, never attend any other school than that of their childhood.

Probably the most effective way to meet this situation is for the county superintendent of public instruction to be provided with an assistant superintendent whose chief responsibility is vocational guidance and adjustment. This assistant would serve as director, head counselor, and placement officer for the entire county. He would be expected to supervise the guidance work done by teachers, to provide needed occupational information material for the schools, to see that a suitable pupil-record system is set up, to counsel individual pupils referred to him by teachers in accordance with a well-considered plan, and to render as much placement and follow-up service as possible to those who

are out of school. As far as practicable he would use carefully selected teachers of the county to assist him in the performance of these and other duties.

To be sure, this is a much simpler matter in a county whose schools are organized on the county unit plan with a single board of education for the entire county, and the county superintendent appointed by this board, than it is in a county with a separate board of education for every one-teacher school and the county superintendent elected by popular vote. Yet the latter conditions still exist in many states. It seems unlikely that any plan for vocational guidance will prove very effective under these conditions. In fact, if vocational guidance—and one may say if education itself—is to serve the needs of rural youth the county unit plan and many more consolidated schools than there are at present are practically necessary.

Cooperation among School Systems

No school system's plan of organization for vocational guidance and adjustment can be considered adequate that concerns itself only with the youth of its own schools. Provision must be made also for the program to serve those beyond compulsory school age who come into the community but do not enter its schools. Young people who come into a strange city, whether from another city or from the country, often are in greater need of guidance and particularly of placement and follow-up services than are local youth. Unfortunately, however, little consideration usually is given these young people by the school placement office, except to resent their coming into competition with graduates of the local schools.

What seems to be needed is an arrangement for transferring out-of-school youth from one community to another as in-school youth have long been transferred. If a high school boy moves from one city to another he is given a transfer to a high school in the city which becomes his new home. After the acceptance of the transfer he receives the same consideration as those who came into the high school from the elementary schools of the city. The adjustment institute already described provides the necessary machinery for the same procedure in dealing with out-of-school youth. Part of its business is to follow its own youth and help them establish themselves in other communities. An

equally important part should be to receive youth from other communities and serve them as if they were its own. A system of transfers would care for this situation.

Summary

The effectiveness of a vocational guidance program depends not only upon the fact that provision is made for all of the eight services considered in earlier chapters but also on how the program as a whole is set up and administered. In considering a desirable plan of organization and administration for such a program, the relationships of the program to the rest of the school system and its relationships within the secondary school must both be taken into account.

Two closely related functions of a school system are teaching and pupil personnel work. The former is concerned *directly* with the educative process—development of the pupil by means of his school environment. The latter is concerned *indirectly* with the same thing, its direct concern being to bring the pupil into the school environment under the most favorable conditions for his development. In a large school system organization of a pupil personnel department with an assistant superintendent in charge is a logical step. Vocational guidance is primarily a pupil personnel function. It may well be assigned to a vocational guidance bureau set up within the pupil personnel department, coordinate with bureaus which deal with attendance, health, research, and the like, with a director in charge.

Five divisions of the bureau seem desirable: vocational information; self-inventory; records and counseling; preemployment vocational preparation; and placement and follow-up divisions. Each division would be expected to supervise its appropriate activities throughout the school system. In a smaller school system the same general setup is desirable with a larger part of the program assigned to one individual or with the work divided among staff members who have other duties or with both of these arrangements.

The vocational guidance program within a secondary school is a *school enterprise* in which all members of the staff participate. The principal, as key man, cooperates with the staff of the bureau in planning the program for his school. He arranges for needed supervision by staff members from the bureau, provides favorable

conditions for carrying on the work, helps members of his staff to see and perform their particular duties in the program, checks on how effectively these duties are performed, etc.

The head counselor is the principal's agent in supervising the guidance program within the school. He counsels pupils and arranges for counseling by others. He has direct responsibility for seeing that adequate pupil records are available for counseling interviews. He helps pupils seeking work to make proper use of the placement services of the school system, and performs many other similar duties.

Home-room teachers report to the head counselor's office significant data concerning individual pupils, themselves do certain types of counseling, cultivate a favorable attitude toward the vocational guidance program, and cooperate with the head counselor in other ways.

Subject teachers help pupils to discover their abilities and limitations, observe and report to the head counselor special aptitudes, interests, and personality traits of particular pupils, assist their pupils to obtain information concerning opportunities and requirements of occupations closely related to the subjects which they teach, etc.

The school librarian sees that the library functions as effectively as possible in providing needed information concerning occupations and reports to the head counselor on special interests shown by pupils in their reading. Other members of the school staff are brought into the program appropriately by the principal and the head counselor.

The Adjustment Institute calls for a special type of organization either responsible to or coordinate with the bureau. The director or principal would function for this institution with reference to vocational guidance much as the principal functions for his high school. A head counselor would have the assistance on a part-time basis of all the counselors in the senior high schools. Other assistance might be needed. The entire placement staff of the school system might well be transferred to the Adjustment Institute. A special staff for organizing and administering the part-time employment program for unemployed youth would be necessary. A special staff would be required for the educational program provided and another for the recreational and health program. Careful planning for the organization and adminis-

tration of the Adjustment Institute will be necessary if it is to measure up to its possibilities of service to youth.

Small school systems and rural schools present special problems in organizing and administering vocational guidance. Essential things in meeting these special problems are to see that all the services are provided, that some individual is responsible for each, and that the services are coordinated. Consolidated rural schools make easier the organization of an effective program of vocational guidance in rural areas.

Some plan of cooperation among school systems is necessary if the counseling, placement, and follow-up needs of out-of-school youth who move from one school district to another are to be served.

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